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THE

CHINESE MASSACRE

AT

ROCK SPRINGS, WYOMING TERRITORY,

SEPTEMBER 2, 1885.

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NOTWITHSTANDING occasional indications of a feeling of discontent and distrust in the minds of certain classes of the company's employes, the executive officers of the Union Pacific were, in the latter part of August, 1885, encouraged to hope that their efforts to adjust all differences had met with a considerable measure of success. There were no serious causes of complaint alleged against the company or its officials; the only questions at issue between the employer and the employed related to matters of minor importance, and were supposed to be easy of settlement.

Under these circumstances, the utmost surprise was felt when, on the 3d of September, a telegraph message was received in Boston to the effect that armed men to the number of a hundred or more had on the previous day driven all the Chinese miners employed by the company out of the coal-mines at Rock Springs, Wyoming; had killed and wounded a large number of them; had plundered and burned their quarters, including some fifty houses owned by the company; had stopped all work at the mines; had ordered certain officers of the company's mining department to leave town at an hour's notice; and now demanded, as the condition upon which they would permit the resumption of work in the mines, a pledge that the Chinese should be no longer employed. Later advices on that and the following day not only confirmed the first reports, but increased the number of killed and wounded, and the extent of the destruction of property. It appeared that so many of the six hundred

Chinese computed to have been in the camp, as escaped massacre, had fled into the mountains and desert in the vicinity of Rock Springs, where they were in danger of perishing from terror and starvation; while the armed rioters in possession of the town threatened them with death if they returned to it. It was reported that the Chinese at the Grass Creek mines in Utah had been ordered to leave at twenty minutes notice; and a telegram from the sheriff of Uintah County, Wyoming, brought the intelligence that a repetition of the outrages was expected at the Almy mines near Evanston unless the civil authorities were strengthened by troops.

Meantime, the Governor of Wyoming Territory had telegraphed the President of the United States as follows: —

EVANSTON, WYOMING, 4th. Unlawful combinations and conspiracies exist among coal-miners and others, in the Uintah and Sweetwater Counties in this Territory, which prevent individuals and corporations from enjoyment and protection of their property, and obstruct execution of laws. Open insurrection at Rock Springs; property burned; sixteen dead bodies found; probably over fifty more under ruins. Seven hundred Chinamen driven from town, and have taken refuge at Evanston, and are ordered to leave there. Sheriff powerless to make necessary arrests and protect life and property, unless supported by organized bodies of armed men. Wyoming has no territorial militia; therefore I respectfully and earnestly request the aid of United States troops, not only to protect the mails and mail-routes, but that they may be instructed to support civil authorities until order is restored, criminals arrested, and the suffering relieved.

Acting under orders from the War Department, Gen. Howard, in command at Omaha of the Department of the Platte, sent four companies of troops to the scene of disturbance: and on the 5th information was received that about eighty troops were stationed at Rock Springs, and as many more at Evanston, with orders to protect the United States mails.

On the 5th, Gov. Warren telegraphed a request that "the Secretary of War be informed that the [Union Pacific Railway] Company cannot enjoy the use and possession of its property unless troops assist the civil authority in making

arrests in order to weed out all dangerous criminals and agitators, and provide protection for reasonable employes." He subsequently telegraphed the President from Evanston as follows: —

> Referring to my several late telegrams, I respectfully submit that the unlawful organized mob in possession of coal-mines at Almy, near here, will not permit Chinamen to approach their own home, property, or employment. From the nature of the outbreak, sheriff of county cannot rally sufficient posse, and territorial government cannot sufficiently aid him. Insurrectionists know, through newspapers and despatches, that troops will not interfere under present orders; and moral effect of presence of troops is destroyed. If troops were known to have orders to assist sheriff's posse in case driven back, I am quite sure civil authorities could restore order without actual use of soldiers. But unless United States Government can find way to relieve us immediately, I believe worse scenes than those at Rock Springs will follow, and all Chinamen driven from the Territory. I beg an early reply and information regarding the attitude of the United States Government.

On the 7th, notice was served on the Chinese miners at Almy mines, near Evanston, not to enter the mines, or they would be fired on. Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., through whom the Chinese were employed, were ordered by the white miners to pay off all Chinamen, and get them out of town to avoid trouble. The mines at Almy were accordingly closed.

This, then, was the situation on the 8th of September: — All the mines at Rock Springs and Almy were closed, and production had ceased. A portion of the Union Pacific employes at Rock Springs had set upon another portion; had killed in cold blood some forty or fifty; had pillaged and burned their quarters, and driven between four and five hundred of them out into the inhospitable wastes; and now, with arms in their hands, were threatening death to any who returned. The company's officers, who were not in sympathy with the purposes of the rioters, were powerless; indeed, several of them had been driven from the place, under threats of death if they remained. The civil authorities proclaimed themselves unable to protect the property of the company, or the lives of its employes. They could

not make arrests, preserve order, or enforce the laws. Upon the urgent and reiterated requests of the Governor of the Territory, small bodies of troops had been stationed at the points where disturbances had occurred or were threatened, with instructions to protect the property of the Government, and the mails in actual transmission. Subsequently, upon the demand of the Chinese minister at Washington, under specific treaty provisions, the military authorities were instructed to furnish protection to the Chinamen; and it is accordingly a noticeable fact, that the Union Pacific Railway Company was indebted, for the protection of its property and the persons of its employes, to the terms of the treaty with a foreign power, and the interference of a foreign minister.

Until the military authorities had received definite instructions, it was not deemed prudent or safe to undertake the return of the Chinese miners who had been driven out at Rock Springs. But on the 9th, one week from the date of the massacre, six hundred of them, who had been gathered up at various points along the railroad, were brought back under military protection, and placed in temporary quarters near the site of the camp which had been burned.

Meanwhile newspaper reports of what had taken place were attracting general attention. These reports were of the most confused and contradictory character. Some of them represented that trouble had been brewing for a long time between the white miners and the Chinese; that the labor organizations had taken the issue up, and prepared for a general strike to bring matters to a crisis; but that the Rock Springs miners had precipitated it by an outbreak, which had not been included in the programme. The impression that a general anti-Chinese demonstration throughout the Territories and on the Pacific coast had been planned, was strengthened by the circumstance that immediately after the news of the outbreak reached the West coast and intervening points, demonstrations of a similar character took place. At several places in Idaho and Montana, Chinamen were ordered to leave; in Washington Territory there were manifestations

of a lawless spirit, organized violence being threatened at Seattle, while two or more Chinamen were killed at a camp in the vicinity. Certain newspapers seized the opportunity to misrepresent the facts, in order to hold the Union Pacific company responsible for whatever had taken place. Thus, in one paper published in Omaha, what purported to be a "special despatch" from Rock Springs was printed, in which the statement was made that a strike for an advance in wages had been made by the white miners a few days before the occurrence, and that the anti-Chinese feeling, which had existed for a long time, burst all restraint "when groups of Chinese miners were seen advancing to the shafts, in charge of the Union Pacific bosses, to take the places at cheap wages of the strikers." The account goes on to say that "the forenoon passed without a demonstration of the rage that was gathering in the groups of miners who discussed the situation in the saloons and other convenient places. By eleven o'clock the strikers had become furious from liquor and brooding, and it was at once determined to resist the return of the Chinese to the mines at noon."

This statement was devoid of truth. There had been no strike, no "groups of Chinese miners" who took "the places at cheap wages of the strikers," nor is there any evidence that "the strikers had become furious from liquor and brooding." On the contrary, the local Rock Springs newspaper, which was in close sympathy with the anti-Chinese feeling, said in an "extra" in which an account of the massacre was given: "The action of the saloons in closing up is to be commended, and it cannot be said that a 'drunken mob' drove out the Chinamen. Every one was sober, and we did not see a case of drunkenness."

This was thought highly creditable to those concerned in the transaction. No one was drunk. It was a sober mob! It is fit and proper, while correcting the misrepresentation that there was a strike or any warning of a strike, or that the Union Pacific company had any intimation of pending trouble, to relieve those concerned in the massacre, of the

reproach of having entered upon it in the heat of passion or the rage of intoxication.

Naturally, an affair involving the killing of between thirty and forty men, the expulsion from their homes of five or six hundred human beings, and the burning and plundering of a hundred houses, attracted general attention. East of the Missouri River, the voice of the press was outspoken and unanimous in condemnation. The universal judgment was that such acts admitted neither of palliation nor excuse. The fact that the victims were of an alien race, not only unarmed with weapons of physical defence, but unprotected by the shield of citizenship, — their only dependence being the good faith of the United States Government in the fulfilment of its treaty obligations, — was commented upon as a national disgrace; nor did the somewhat deliberate action of the federal authorities in ordering troops to the scene of disturbance escape criticism and censure. Had it then been stated that not one of those concerned in the outrage would ever be brought to justice, and that although these things took place in the light of day, and in plain view of several hundred spectators, no grand jury would ever indict a single person concerned in them, it would have been pronounced a libel upon the administration of justice in any civilized country. Had it been added that the action of the Union Pacific Railway Company, in gathering up terror-stricken survivors, who otherwise would have perished in the deserts, and restoring them to the places whence they had been so ruthlessly expelled, would be openly discussed by its employes as a grievance to be met by vigorous protest, while in the opinion of many it furnished sufficient cause for a general strike; had it been said that the failure of the grand jury to find a true bill against any of the parties engaged in the murders, would be received with applause in the county court-room, and that the arrested persons would be met with an ovation on their return to Rock Springs; that a formal demand would be made upon the company for the summary discharge of all Chinese miners, and the re-employment of

the men who had killed, plundered, and driven them out; that other employes who had had no hand in the outrage would insist on this as the price of their continuance at work, and that the company, for obeying the ordinary dictates of humanity, would be condemned by a considerable number of persons, as wantonly aggravating the feelings of the citizens of Rock Springs, and provoking them to further deeds of violence, — had these things been said when the affair was fresh in the public mind, they would have been pronounced a monstrous calumny upon a perhaps rude, but still a Christian community. Yet these things happened.

The tone of the public press west of the Missouri River will be best indicated by a few extracts from its editorial pages. Their main purpose, it will be observed, is to fasten the responsibility for the outbreak upon the "grasping and greedy corporation," which, by the introduction of Chinese labor at a low rate of wages, and by systematic tyranny over the white miners, provoked the latter beyond endurance and drove them to heroic remedies.

"The Omaha Bee" in the course of a long article on "the attempt of the Union Pacific managers to evade responsibility," said, —

> In Wyoming, as it was in Pennsylvania, the coal-miners are compelled to trade at the railroad company's stores, operated by Beckwith, Quinn & Co., by whom they are charged exorbitant prices. Not satisfied with having a monopoly in the coal trade in that Territory, the greedy corporation maintains a monopoly on the merchandise trade in all its tributary mining towns. Between low wages for labor, and the outrageous prices for provisions and other necessaries, the miners are ground down until they find it difficult to live even if with the strictest economy. None but Chinamen can stand any such pressure. As they can live on almost nothing, they can afford to work for the Union Pacific contractors at low wages, and pay high prices for what little they buy and consume. Under all these circumstances, the white miners have been driven to desperation; and becoming convinced that the Union Pacific was attempting to either reduce them to the level of the Chinese, or gradually freeze them out altogether by the importation of Chinese, they resorted to force to expel the obnoxious element.
>
> Who was mainly to blame for the massacre? The maddened miners'

mob, or the men who got up the system that drove these men to murderous desperation? The agents of the company have at all times encouraged Chinamen, as well as Mormon miners, and in this way have held down all others as with a rod of iron. That the Union Pacific contractors have systematically tyrannized over the white miners, and treated them like slaves, and subjected them to all sorts of annoyances and indignities, there is but little doubt. We have denounced in unmeasured terms the action of the white miners in slaughtering the Chinese, because the Chinamen were not responsible for being alive, nor for being employed in the mines. But the incentive for the crime was furnished by their employers and a giant monopoly, which has destroyed all possible chance for competition and fair dealing in Wyoming. The lesson taught by the desperate miners, bloody though it was, should not go unheeded by the Union Pacific. That company should as soon as possible abandon the employment of Chinese; and if it will persist in monopolizing the coal-mining business, let it at least have the decency to do away with its stores, and permit competition in the necessaries of life and miners' supplies. Give the white miners a chance to buy where they can buy the cheapest, and there will be less cause for complaint.

The Rock Springs massacre presents another phase which calls for serious reflection. At the instance of the railroad, which has had a mortgage on nearly every governor of Wyoming, federal troops have been called for to suppress the insurrection, and to prevent a further outbreak. No sooner did the troops put in an appearance than the Company resumed its tyrannical policy, and the announcement was made that the coolies will be put to work again under the protection of Uncle Sam's bayonets.

Now, while it is the duty of the government to suppress insurrection and rebellion, and enforce law and order in the Territories, it becomes a serious question whether the army is to be employed as a police at the dictates of a corporation, which was mainly instrumental in causing the outbreak by a lawless system which is unrepublican and contrary to the spirit of our institutions. Is the army to be degraded into a sort of slave-driver? The slave-drivers in the South in their palmiest days never presumed that the army should be employed as a posse to be placed over their chattels, and keep them from mutiny.

"The Cheyenne Sun" of Sept. 11 said, —

What does it mean, when it is the general belief, as indicated in the correspondence and other information sent from Rock Springs and Green River, that no grand jury of sixteen men, drawn from the white citizens and tax-payers of Sweetwater County, will be found to indict men charged with the heinous crimes of murder, robbery, and arson, especially when these men thus charged are the few picked out from the hun-

dred or more who are claimed to have been engaged in the commission of these crimes? Will any man dare say that it means that law is not respected in Sweetwater County? Is it not rather incontrovertible evidence that the sixteen grand jurors, one and all, recognize that the real cause of these crimes was the violation of law higher than written statutes, — the law of justice?

"The Laramie Boomerang," commenting on the circumstance that United States troops had been sent to Rock Springs, said: —

The United States troops are on the grounds in full force, and will remain for some time, but it is by no means supposed that the end of the trouble has been seen. From the Union Pacific authorities it has been declared that the white miners must leave Rock Springs, and this has been repeated in all the Eastern exchanges. Does the Union Pacific company, the firm of Beckwith, Quinn & Co., and other Chinese sympathizers, realize the task they are undertaking? If they are so blind as to expect to rule by the use of bayonets and bullets, they deserve the fate which is surely reserved for them. The massacre of the Chinamen was the inevitable result of the competition between the whites and the foreign race. It is easy to say, "We will enforce our rule by the use of troops," but soon dynamite and the torch will be called into requisition, and the railroad company will find too late that they have made a bargain with the devil. The Boomerang has already declared itself against the outrages of the Rock Springs miners, but it now declares that the foolish action in putting back the Mongolian miners will meet with a swift and terrible retribution. There may be a temporary peace at Rock Springs, but it will be succeeded by war all along the line. The sentiment against the Chinese miners, the Beckwith Quinn Company, and the Union Pacific, is stronger than is imagined, and exists everywhere. It will break out where least expected, and will add to the curse that rests upon the railroad company. It is true that a coal famine threatens the West, and the blame is laid where it belongs. The reparation will come when a new road comes into Wyoming. It is sure that the whites will not yield precedence to the Chinese dogs. They will be compelled to leave this country, peace will be restored, even at the cost of bloodshed, and the trouble that may come will be chargeable to a monopoly that has wrung the country of its life-blood, that is now trying to enforce a tyrannical rule, which is to starve white men to support Chinamen, that tries to capture the courts and the legislatures everywhere, and which should be crushed down without further delay. The outbreak at Rock Springs is the beginning only of a revolt which will end when this enemy of Wyoming and of every State and Territory it passes through has been

treated as it deserves, crushed down, and its power taken from it forever. The time is at hand for this result. Let the workingmen and the people show their hand. There never was such a royal opportunity offered to rid the country of this octopus. If the white men permit the grievous wrong that is threatened at Rock Springs, then let them surrender forever all hope for the future. There should be no more massacres, but there should be no backing down.

In another place the same paper spoke as follows concerning the possibility that the massacre might be made the subject of a Congressional investigation: —

There will be no senatorial inquiry into the massacre of Chinamen in Wyoming. No impassioned orator will recount the incidents of the bloody deed, and no party platform-builder will "demand" any thing concerning it. When Congress assembles, no investigation, costing thousands of dollars, will be ordered, and no newspaper anxious to foment strife will employ romancing correspondents to make the case worse than it really was. Why? Because the Chinaman has no vote and no friends. He is not closely bound up in the history of either political party. Nobody is anxious to force him on other people as their equal or superior; and, above all, no party capital is to be made of his woes, though his blood may flow in rivers.

Yet back of this Wyoming massacre is a question of greater importance to Americans, in general, than any of the antecedents of common assault-and-battery cases at the South can have. The Chinamen were at work for a government subsidized company, and had been hired by it for the purpose of depressing the wages of white labor. Murderous and shameful as was the attack made on these wretched creatures, it was not more villanous than the attack which the Union Pacific Railroad Company made on the rights of American labor. When the rich man or the rich corporations, that enter into arrangements of this character for the purpose of reviving a species of slavery in America, find that they are looked upon as contemptible skinflints, and devilish oppressors of the human race, it is probable that there will be fewer occasions for such butcheries as that in Wyoming. The blame for the horror rests primarily on the corporation, which sought without proper excuse to reduce the American working-man to the position of a peon.

The story in detail of the massacre from the point of view of those who, while deprecating any resort to violence, were still of the opinion that the end justified the means, was told by the local journal, "The Rock Springs Independent." It may be said that all inquiries concerning the actual occur-

rences of Sept. 2, by the company's representative or the government directors in the subsequent investigation, were answered on the part of the white miners by a reference to this account. It may be considered accordingly as their own version of the affair. It is as follows: —

THE TRUE STORY OF THE CHINESE EXODUS.

On Wednesday, Sept. 2, all the Chinese in Rock Springs to the number of about six hundred were driven out of camp by the long-suffering miners. The true story of their expulsion is as follows: —

The feeling against them has been getting stronger all summer. The fact that the white men had been turned off the sections, and hundreds of white men were seeking in vain for work, while the Chinese were being shipped in by the car-load, and given work, strengthened the feeling against them. It needed but little to incite this feeling into an active crusade against them, and that little came Wednesday morning at 6. All the entries at No. 6 were stopped the first of the month, and Mr. Evans, the foreman, marked off a number of rooms in the entries. In No. 5 entry eight Chinamen were working, and four rooms were marked off for them. In No 13 Mr. Whitehouse and Mr. Jenkins were working, and Evans told them they could have rooms in that entry or in No. 11 or 5. They chose No. 5; and when they went to work Tuesday, Dave Brookman, who was acting as pit boss in Mr. Francis's absence, told them to take the first rooms marked off. He supposed the Chinamen had begun work on their rooms, and that Whitehouse and Jenkins would take the next rooms beyond them. But as the two first rooms of the entry had not been commenced, Whitehouse took one, not knowing that they had been given to the Chinamen. He went up town in the afternoon, and in his absence the two Chinamen came in, and went to work in the room Whitehouse had started. Wednesday morning, when Whitehouse came to work, two Chinamen were in possession of what he considered his room. He ordered them out, but they wouldn't leave what they thought was their room. High words followed, then blows. The Chinese from other rooms came rushing in, as did the whites, and a fight ensued with picks, shovels, drills, and needles for weapons. The Chinamen were worsted, four of them being badly wounded, one of whom has since died. A number of white men were severely bruised and cut. An attempt was made to settle the matter, but the men were excited, and bound to go out. They accordingly came out, armed themselves with rifles, shot-guns, and revolvers to protect themselves from the Chinese, they said, and started up town. After coming through Chinatown, they left their guns behind them, and marched down the front street, and dispersed about noon.

In the mean time all was excitement in Chinatown. The flag was hoisted as a warning, and the Chinamen gathered to their quarters from all parts of the town, being gently urged by chunks of coal and brick-bats from a crowd of boys. After dinner all the saloons were closed, and a majority of the men from all the mines gathered in the streets. Most of them had fire-arms, although knives, hatchets, and clubs were in the hands of some. It was finally decided that John must go, then and there; and the small army of sixty or seventy armed men, with as many more stragglers, went down the track towards Chinatown. On the way they routed out a number of Chinese section-men, who fled for Chinatown, followed by a few stray shots. When the crowd got as far as No. 3 switch, they sent forward a committee of three to warn the Chinamen to leave in an hour. Word was sent back that they would go, and very soon there was a running to and fro, and gathering of bundles, that showed that John was preparing to move out. But the men grew impatient. They thought that John was too slow in getting out, and might be preparing to defend his position. In about half an hour an advance was made on the enemy's works, with much shooting and shouting. The hint was sufficient. Without offering any resistance, the Chinamen snatched up whatever they could lay their hands on, and started east on the run. Some were bareheaded and barefooted; others carried a small bundle in a handkerchief, while a number had rolls of bedding. They fled like a flock of frightened sheep, scrambling and tumbling down the steep banks of Bitter Creek, then through the sage-brush, and over the railroad, and up into the hills east of Burning Mountain. Some of the men were engaged in searching the houses, and driving out the stray Chinamen who were in hiding, while others followed up the retreating Chinamen, encouraging their flight with showers of bullets fired over their heads.

All the stores in town were closed, and men, women, and children were out watching the hurried exit of John Chinamen, and every one seemed glad to see them on the wing. Soon a black smoke was seen issuing from the peak of a house in "Hong Kong," theft from another, and very soon eight or ten of the largest of the houses were in flames. Half choked with fire and smoke, numbers of Chinamen came rushing from the burning buildings, and, with blankets and bedquilts over their heads to protect themselves from stray rifle-shots, they followed their retreating brothers into the hills at the top of their speed. After completing their work here, the crowd came across to Ah Lee's laundry. There was no sign of a Chinaman here at first, but a vigorous search revealed one hidden away in a corner. But he would not dare to come out. Then the roof was broken in, and shots fired to scare him out, but a shot in return showed that the Chinaman was armed. A rush through the door followed, then came a scuffle and a number of shots; and looking through an opening, a dead Chinaman was seen on the floor with

blood and brains oozing from a terrible wound in the back of his head.

Foreman Evans was next visited, and told to leave on the evening train. He quietly said he would go. He afterwards asked to be allowed to stay till next day to get his things ready, but a vote of the men decided against allowing this favor, and about four hours after Mr. Evans left for the East. The crowd next visited the house of Soo Qui, a boss Chinaman, but Soo had gone to Evanston, and only his wife was in the house. She came to the door much terrified, and with tearful eyes and trembling voice said, "Soo he go. I go to him." The assurance of the men that she could stay in the house, and would not be harmed, did not calm her fears. She did not like the looks of the armed crowd, and gathering a small armful of household treasures she left, and was afterwards taken in by a neighbor. Then a few Chinamen working in No. 1 came out, and were hustled up the hills after their fleeing brothers.

"Well, gentlemen, the next thing is to give Mr. O'Donnell notice to leave, and then go over to No. 6," said one of the men in the crowd. But the crowd was slow in departing on this errand. A large number seemed to think that this was going too far; and of the crowd that gathered in front of O'Donnell's store, the majority did not sympathize with this move. But at somebody's orders, a note ordering O'Donnell to leave was written, and given to Gotsche, his teamster.

Joe Young, the sheriff, came down from Green River in the evening, and guards were out all night to protect the property of the citizens in case of a disturbance. But every thing was quiet in town. Over in Chinatown, however, the rest of the houses were burned; the whole of them, numbering about forty, being consumed to the ground. The Chinese section-house, and also the houses at No. 6, were burned, and Chinamen were chased out of nearly all the burning buildings. All the night long the sound of rifle and revolver was heard, and the surrounding hills were lit by the glare of the burning houses.

. . . . . .

A look around the scenes of the previous day's work revealed some terrible sights Thursday morning. In the smoking cellar of one Chinese house the blackened bodies of three Chinamen were seen. Three others were in the cellar of another, and four bodies were found near by. From the position of some of the bodies, it would seem as if they had begun to dig a hole in the cellar to hide themselves; but the fire overtook them when about half way in the hole, burning their lower extremities to crisp, and leaving the upper portions of their bodies untouched. At the east end of Chinatown another body was found, charred by the flames and mutilated by hogs. The smell that arose from the smoking ruins was horribly suggestive of burning flesh. Farther east were the bodies of

four more Chinamen shot down in their flight; one of them had tumbled over the bank, and lay in the creek with face upturned and distorted. Still farther, another Chinaman was found, shot through the hips but still alive. He had been shot just as he came to the bank, and had fallen over and lay close to the edge of the bank. He was taken up town and cared for by Dr. Woodruff. Besides this, two others were seriously wounded, and many who got away were more slightly hurt. The trains to-day have picked up a large number of Chinamen on the track, and taken them West.

Judge Ludvigsen summoned a coroner's jury, who, with Dr. Woodruff, examined the bodies of the dead Chinamen, and returned a verdict that eleven had been burned to death, and four shot, by parties unknown to the jury. The bodies were put in rough coffins, and buried in the Chinese burying-grounds.

The action of the saloons in closing up is to be commended, and it cannot be said that a "drunken mob" drove out the Chinamen. Every one was sober, and we did not see a case of drunkenness.

While a large number of miners here belong to the Knights of Labor, the work of Wednesday was not done by order of that organization. There may have been a determination of making an early attempt to get the Chinese out, but not exactly in that way, or at that time. It merely needed the trouble at No. 6 to excite the men into a crusade against the Chinese.

The same paper, commenting upon the "uncalled-for" presence of troops at Rock Springs, remarked: —

Last Saturday morning our citizens were somewhat surprised to see a company of soldiers from Fort Steele get off a special train and go into camp near the railway at the west end of the town. The troops are supposed to be here for the protection of property; but as not a threat or a movement has been made against the person or property of a single individual in town since the Chinese were driven out, the presence of the troops was entirely uncalled for. The impression is conveyed that the people in Rock Springs are a lawless, bloodthirsty set of people who can only be prevented from indiscriminate murder and arson by the presence of a body of armed troops. This is entirely false. The removal of the Chinese was all that was desired, and when they were driven from town the entire purpose of the outbreak was accomplished, and the life and property of other people were as safe here as in any other place.

Commenting upon the "avenging spirit of the Union Pacific Railway" in bringing back under military protection

the survivors of the massacre to their burned and plundered camp, the same paper says, —

> The action of the company in bringing back the Chinese means that they are to be set to work in the mines, and that American soldiers are to prevent them from being again driven out.
>
> It means that all white miners at Rock Springs, except those absolutely required, are to be replaced by Chinese labor.
>
> It means that the company intend to make a "Chinatown" out of Rock Springs, as they proposed to the Almy miners last Monday.
>
> It means that Rock Springs is killed, as far as white men are concerned, if such a programme is carried out.
>
> How do our miners and how do our business men like the situation, and what are they going to do about it?
>
> There is but one thing to do: miners, merchants, and railway employes must unite as one man against such a high-handed proceeding. It is a matter in which every business man and every workingman along the line of the Union Pacific is concerned.
>
> If the labor organizations of Colorado and Wyoming, backed up by the business interest and public sentiment and public press of the country, cannot enforce their demand that the Chinese must go, we are much mistaken as to their strength.
>
> Neither the labor organizations nor public sentiment will uphold the brutal murder of the Chinese last week. The punishment of these crimes is within the province of the civil authorities, and they will not be molested in the prosecution of their duties. But innocent men with their families, and the business interest of Rock Springs, must not be allowed to suffer through the avenging spirit of the Union Pacific Railway. Let the demand go up from one end of the Union Pacific to the other, THE CHINESE MUST GO.
>
> If it is a disgrace for a few American miners, aggravated by a long course of injustice, to kill a few Chinamen, is it not a more damnable disgrace to see a rich and powerful corporation — created and sustained by American citizens — claiming and receiving the assistance of American soldiers to enforce the employment of leprous aliens to the exclusion of American workingmen? Why, even the soldiers themselves curse the duty which compels them to sustain the alien against the American, and no wonder every man in town is hot with indignation at the spectacle.

"The Laramie Boomerang," previous citations from which sufficiently indicate its attitude, adds to its account of the affair, which does not differ from the above, that "the women

handled weapons like men, and used them too. One, who had a child in her arms, struck a passing Mongol and knocked him down. The baby screamed, and she spanked it, laid it on the ground, and proceeded to smash the fellow in regular John L. Sullivan style. Another, so it is said, after the murder of Ah Lee, jumped on the dead body and stamped on it. She was said to have lost a child only a day or so before."

Concerning the "apathy of the people," it said, —

There seemed to be, yesterday, an utter indifference on the part of nearly every one as to the extent of the loss of life, or the fate of the wounded wanderers in the mountains. No effort was made to search the smoking cellars for bodies, but men and boys poked about in the ashes for the cash-drawers which had been left in the hurried flight, and the geese, ducks and swine were driven off. There was no talk of missing men who were dying amid the sage-brush, but only of the melted treasures that might be discovered in the wreck of their dwellings. If there was excuse for the forcible expulsion of the heathen, there was none for the inaction of the authorities in this matter. The railway company and the county officials should have done something. But no: the flames and smoke rising from Chinatown alone indicated that any thing unusual had occurred. A sabbath-like quiet reigned yesterday in Rock Springs. The dead were allowed to rest amid the wreck of their homes, the dying to die uncared for wherever they happened to fall fainting in their flight.

The coroner's jury was empanelled on Thursday afternoon, and returned a verdict that eleven had been burned to death and four shot by parties unknown to the jury. The sixteenth victim was found yesterday, and hauled off in a wagon to be put in a pine box and laid beside the rest.

This paper likewise expressed profound astonishment that troops should be ordered to Rock Springs, and could not believe that the company would be guilty of such folly as to undertake to restore the Chinese to their old places. It said, —

It is impossible to conceive the object in taking troops to Rock Springs now, as all was quiet there last night, and not a Chinaman could have been dragged near the place with a team of mules. It is not possible that the railroad authorities can put the Chinese back to work under protection of United States troops. This, in the opinion of all we have talked with, would be the height of folly. The moment the troops were withdrawn, the old story would be repeated. The Chinese haven't one particle of courage. Here less than one hundred men drove off six or

seven hundred of the foreigners like a drove of sheep. The cowards made no resistance except in a single case. This, too, when, as was stated by the miners, they had been drilling with pikes, swords, and knives, ostentatiously for weeks past. Their weapons were picked up by the dozen in the street where they had dropped them as they ran. If the company persists in trying to work Chinamen under the protection of federal bayonets, there will be grave trouble.

In a later issue this journal warns "the Union Pacific and the United States Government that their latest movement is little less than criminal. It is inviting a revolution." It says, —

The outbreak at Rock Springs was a horrible affair, brutal, cowardly, and in many respects indefensible; it was a cold-blooded massacre. But it was an indication of the feeling which exists against cooly labor. It may be in vain, but The Boomerang warns the Union Pacific and the United States Government that their latest movement is a little less than criminal. It is inviting a revolution. The fiat has gone forth, and the Chinese must go.

Much as one detests the outrages, the murder, riot, and pillage, of the 2d of September, it is not worth while to deny that it was the result of a determination on the part of the miners to drive out the Chinese, and that in this determination they have the sympathy of fellow-laborers. If the troops are to be kept on the ground continually, if the United States Government is intending to protect these foreigners at the point of the bayonet and at the public expense, it may be possible to run these mines for a time, but the minute the soldiers are withdrawn there will be trouble. Violence, and especially such awful work as that at Rock Springs, brings a curse to the Territory and the country, but it is scarcely worse than the tyranny which would force a competition between the white miners and the Chinese. It is well for those east of us to rant on the subject. Their ideas are sound, but they don't understand the facts. No one can understand them unless he is on the ground. And with due modesty it is said that the return of the Mongolian miners to Rock Springs will be followed by another uprising, and that if the troops themselves suffer with the Chinese, the authorities will be to blame.

While there are some exceptions to be made, these extracts represent, not unfairly, popular opinion along the line of the Union Pacific on the question of Chinese labor. However unreasonable and illogical the prejudice may be, the fact of its existence cannot be disputed.

The first communication to the officers of the Company from any one connected with the disturbances, was on the 8th of September, six days after the massacre, when General Manager Callaway received a despatch, purporting to come from a committee of miners and merchants of Rock Springs, asking for an interview for the purpose of presenting the grievances of the white miners against the officers of the Coal Department. At that time the mines were closed; and although the expelled Chinamen had been brought back under military protection, none of them had yet resumed work. Mr. Callaway replied, —

> As soon as the control and management of this company's property has been restored to it by territorial or federal authority, I will be glad to meet and discuss the matter with you. Until then, it seems to me that a conference can be productive of no beneficial results.

Up to the 12th of September the company had taken no action except to collect the scattered survivors of the massacre, and return them under military protection to Rock Springs, and to discharge such of the miners as were known to have been concerned in the riots. On that day, Mr. Callaway received the following message from Denver: —

> DENVER, Sept. 12, 1885.
>
> We protest against driving white miners away from Rock Springs. Wish to know exact position of the company regarding the same.
>
> (Signed) J. N. CORBIN, *Sec. of Ex. Com.*

To this communication from the representative of the Knights of Labor organization among the company's employes, Mr. Callaway replied as follows: —

> This company is not driving white miners away. It is taking such steps as are absolutely necessary for the protection of life, and the defence of its property. No loyal law-abiding employe has any thing to fear.

On the 14th of September, Mr. Callaway wired the Rock Springs committee who had requested an interview for the presentation of grievances, that Mr. Bromley from the company's Boston office, accompanied by Assistant General Superintendent Dickinson, would be at Rock Springs the following

day, and give them a hearing. The committee referred to seems to have been appointed by a meeting of citizens held for the purpose on Saturday the 5th, since which time its members had been engaged in collecting "evidence in regard to the various grievances the men were subject to on account of the importation and employment of Chinese." The names of the committee were M. L. Hoyt, Dr. E. S. Murray, Thomas Sutton, Carl Vowell, and George Schaidt. Of these Mr. Hoyt had been about eight months a resident of Rock Springs, having a family in Idaho. He was interested in a mercantile and banking business in competition with Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., towards whom he exhibited great hostility. Dr. Murray was believed to be the man on horseback described in Foreman Evans's account of the attack on the Chinese camp. He had been a resident of Rock Springs about nine months, and was anxious for employment as physician by the Coal Department, having made several attempts to obtain the signatures of the miners to a petition for that purpose. One of the miners, who himself carried a rifle at the time of the riot, informed the surgeon of the company that when Dr. Murray rode over to "Chinatown" on the 3d of September, he told the men to set the houses on fire, or the Chinamen would be brought back. Thomas Sutton had been a resident of Rock Springs for ten years, formerly in the employ of the company as miner, and for two years mine boss; he had left that position about eighteen months before, to engage in mercantile business. C. M. Vowell, a miner, came to Rock Springs from Iowa about two years before. He is the man who, as will subsequently appear, went about Rock Springs after the disturbance, serving notice on several white miners whose conduct had not met his approval, to leave town within twenty-four hours. He was afterwards active in warning new men employed by the company not to go to work. George Schaidt had been about two years in the employ of the Company as a miner.

On the 15th, these members of the committee met Mr.

Bromley at Rock Springs, and made a formal presentment of grievances; not ostensibly as a justification of the outbreak and its results, but rather as a reason why the company should accept the situation, and adjust itself to the new relations thus brought about, discharging the Chinamen, returning the white miners to their work, and leaving the punishment of all offenders to the ordinary processes of law. The committee permitted no inquiry into the circumstances attending the riot, but confined themselves to the statement of grievances. These were presented under the management of Dr. Murray, who acted as chief examiner of the witnesses, in many cases putting a story in their mouths, and drawing from them their assent. This was especially noticeable in the case of two Chinamen, produced to testify that they had bought room privileges, so called, in the mines.

At the conclusion of the hearing, it was suggested that the Government Directors were about going over the road, and would probably be at Rock Springs on the 17th, and that if the committee desired to make a more formal presentation of their case, an opportunity would then be afforded. The proposition was accepted, the Government Directors were notified, and on the 17th the same committee appeared and were heard by them.

At this meeting Mr. Hoyt acted as chairman of the committee, and read a document purporting to set forth all alleged grievances, after which some of the signers of the document were examined by the Government Directors concerning the causes of complaint. The same course was pursued as in the previous hearing regarding the circumstances immediately attending the outbreak. Concerning them no one was permitted to speak, on the ground that some of the witnesses were under bonds to appear and answer in a judicial tribunal, to the charge of having been concerned in the riots. The matter thus being in the hands of the officers of the law, was, it was maintained, no affair of the company's.

The sentiments of the grand jury already summoned were well known. There was not the slightest expectation in the

mind of any one familiar with the situation, that a true bill would be found. "The Laramie Boomerang," describing the arrest of sixteen persons, "charged with murder, arson, riot, and grand larceny," said that when called upon by the reporter in the jail, where they were confined about two days before the magistrate admitted them to bail on nominal bonds, they were, "laughing and singing, and not at all uneasy as to the results." The account continued:—

> Their incarceration was apparently a matter of form, and as the sheriff took them up the street he did not have to watch to see that none ran away, but allowed them to refresh themselves at the beer-saloons, and then proceeded to the bastille where they were locked in without protest. The county attorney being absent, the exact date of the preliminary examination is not known. They can be held three or four days on the warrant without examination. It is doubtful if they will be released on bail, but if the bail is fixed at any reasonable figure there is $100,000 ready to be put up for them. Able counsel will be retained, and it is not believed that any jury will be found in the Territory which will convict the prisoners. Other warrants have been sworn out, and were to be served to-day. There will be little trouble as would be experienced in arresting a lot of children, the men being willing to answer for what they have done, and the unanimous opinion of the people sustaining them in their course. It is not likely that a single point in the indictment will ever be made to stick.

The two hearings of the committee of citizens and miners threw no light upon the events of Sept. 2. Indeed, as already stated, that was not the purpose of the committee. Their purpose was to show that the miners labored under great provocation, and that on the whole the expulsion of the Chinese was an excusable if not commendable act. It did not appear that any thing unusual had happened to the company in the matter of the destruction of its property, interference with the possession and operation of its mines, or the killing and driving out of its employes.

The whole case from the point of view of the miners, and the citizens who sympathized with them, is presented in the following document, which was read to the Government Directors by Mr. Hoyt. The committee had been appointed

Sept. 5, for the express purpose of collecting complaints and grievances; public notice had been given, and an invitation extended to all who had grievances of any kind to make them known; the committee had been heard by Mr. Bromley on the 16th, and an opportunity subsequently given them to perfect their case for presentation to the Government Directors. It is reasonable, therefore, to presume that the members of the committee had now agreed upon whatever was strongest on their side of the case.

Mr. Hoyt's statement read thus:—

The following is a partial list of individual grievances sworn to before Oliver S. Johnson, notary public, by the parties whose names are appended:—

Mr. William Hicks testifies: "I was employed to weigh coal during the month of July. Was satisfied by the experience of a few days that the miners were being robbed by fraudulent weights of from four hundred to five hundred pounds of coal on each car. I called the attention of Superintendent Miller to the facts. Worked on No. 4 mine."

The above statement is corroborated by the following named citizens of Rock Springs, who were acting in the capacity of mine committee at the time referred to by Mr. Hicks: John Mushut, William Schaidt, A. E. Bell, Robert Lawson, David Rockart, committee, No. 4 mine.

Mrs. C. H. Flaherty testifies: "On or about the 10th of December, 1884, I was coming from Rock Springs to No. 6 mine; and when about half way, I was accosted by a Chinaman who was going the same way, and stopped in front of me, and made an indecent exposure of his person, when I was compelled to leave the road in order to avoid him, and went considerably out of the way before I again reached the road. On reaching the bridge, I found him awaiting me, when the performance was repeated. By running for my life, I reached home, and since have considered it unsafe for a woman to go anywhere alone."

Isaiah Whitehouse testifies: "Work in No. 6 mine. I was compelled to work an entry in which were three feet of rock. After driving through the rock, I was compelled to give up the entry to Chinamen, who had refused to work it while the rock remained as an incumbrance."

William Whalley testifies: "Myself and son worked in No. 5 mine. The mine was closed down by the company early in the spring. At the time of its abandonment there were employed in it about equal numbers of Chinese and white miners. The Chinamen were given employment in other mines without delay, while the white men, including myself and son, were refused employment, without any alleged reason or cause, for the space of two months."

John Mushut and Robert Lawson testify: "We are partners in No. 5 mine. Were turned out of two places to make room for Chinamen. We applied to Superintendent Tisdel at the time to ascertain the cause of our removal, and were informed that the good places had been sold to Chinamen."

Samuel Rodda testifies: "I was compelled to give up my room in No. 1 mine to Chinamen."

K. J. Johnson testifies: "I came here with four other men upon the recommendation of Thomas Quealey of Carbon. Was told we could not be employed, as the company was making room for a hundred and fifty Chinamen and a hundred men from Utah."

George R. Beal testifies: "I was working in No. 3 mine on a pillar. I was run out by the Chinese armed with picks and drills."

John Penman and Hugh Griffin testify: "We started 15 entry in No. 1 mine, and were only permitted to remain until the entry was in shape to be worked, when we were removed and places supplied by Chinamen."

Alexander Cooper testifies: "The Chinamen have entered my room in my absence, and loaded coal, which I had previously mined, to the amount of ten dollars; and when I remonstrated, wounded me with a drill in the shoulder. They also struck me in the hip with a pick, and from this wound a bone three-quarters of an inch long was extracted."

Walter Johnson, John Mushut, W. H. Osborn, Noah Walters, A. Parry, A. Bell, and T. Purdy testify: "We have been engaged driving entry in No. 1 mine, and have been compelled to remove from six to fifteen inches of rock for which we received no compensation, although work of this character is considered extra. We were also compelled to drive the break-throughs (airways) for nothing; the boss telling us that in case we refused, Chinamen would do it. We were compelled to lay our own track with short rails, afterwards replacing them with long ones, thus making double labor for us without any additional pay. We were also compelled to fill the track so made with coal mined by ourselves, for which we received no pay. We presented our grievance to Mr. D. O. Clark, who promised redress, referring us to Superintendent Brown; and upon our applying to the latter gentleman he stated that he could do nothing for us, that he (Clark) had made us no promises."

Matthew Muir testifies: "I have been driven from two places to make room for Chinamen. I have had my cars checked by them, and upon applying to the boss for redress, was told that if I did not like it, I could take out my tools."

Allen Roberts testifies: "I worked in No. 5 mine, and when it was closed down I was thrown out of employment. We were compelled to remain idle, some of us two and some three months, while others were compelled to leave their places. The Chinamen employed in the same

mine, and under the same circumstances, were immediately given work in the other mines."

Joseph Wise testifies. "I worked in mine No. 4, but was compelled to give up my place to Chinamen. The worst places are always given to white men, while Chinamen work the best ones."

Adam Cooper testifies: "I turned off No. 14 entry in No. 3 mine. As soon as the entry was in shape, we were removed, and Chinamen put in. Afterwards Chinamen entered our room, took all our tools, and tore up forty yards of our track. We stated our case to Superintendent Tisdel, telling him we had been driven from our room, etc., etc. He bought us a set of tools, and promised us our places back."

A. T. Chalice testifies: "I have resided in Rock Springs twelve years on the 17th of September, 1885. I have been an employé of the Union Pacific Coal Department nine years of that time. I was here at the introduction of the Chinamen. Being discharged at that time, with many others, I was compelled to leave in search of employment, leaving my aged parents behind. I sought employment elsewhere, and during my absence they suffered for the common necessaries of life. On my return I was again refused employment, but finally succeeded in securing a job which no Chinaman would accept. I have been turned out of place on four different occasions, and am acquainted with many other white men who have been served likewise. No white men were allowed to drive any of the slopes or entries, although it was work that required practical miners; but the bosses upheld the Chinamen in every thing, and if they called you insulting names, and you dared to retaliate, they would say, 'We talkee big bossy man.' I have often been compelled to run for my life, when sent to do certain work which they had left undone. They have even referred to my mother in the most insulting terms, for the purpose of trying to provoke me to strike them, in order that I might be discharged. Furthermore, we were compelled to trade in Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.'s store. I have heard the superintendent of the store tell men to go and get work where they bought their goods.

"An investigation would show that the management here is largely responsible for the occurrences of two weeks ago. In the first place, the manager is not conversant with mining and the management of mines, and he prefers to employ under-bosses as ignorant as himself. The condition of the ventilation, the system upon which it has been conducted, will show that thousands of dollars have been needlessly expended in senseless experiments, for all of which the miners have indirectly been compelled to pay."

After the reading of the above by Mr. Hoyt, there was a further informal hearing by the Government Directors, of

oral statements and complaints, the substance of which is contained in the following report: —

Government Director SAVAGE to Mr. HOYT. Are the persons who made these statements in the town, and would it be possible to see any number of them, so that they might be examined in regard to these statements?

Mr. HOYT. I should think so.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What number do you suppose are citizens of this place? How long have they lived here?

Mr. HOYT. Some of them fifteen years.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How many of these charges seem to relate to discriminations on the part of the mining-superintendents in favor of the Chinese, and how do you account for that discrimination in their favor?

Mr. HOYT. I can hardly speak of my own knowledge. It seems to be to their benefit to employ as many Chinamen as possible, and they all trade at one store. The management of the mines tries to discourage and make it disagreeable for the white men; for what reason, I cannot tell. It is very evident that they discriminate in favor of the Chinese a great deal.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Do white miners trade at Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.'s store?

Mr. HOYT. They trade at different stores, and at Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.'s store.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How many stores are there in town, do you suppose?

Mr. HOYT. Four or five.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Are there any white miners who trade at Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.'s store?

Mr. HOYT. Yes, some are regular traders there.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Is the same discrimination exercised in favor of these white miners who trade at Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.'s store?

Mr. HOYT. I do not think any favor is shown the white men who trade at Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.'s store.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. In view of these facts, do you think this discrimination would be sufficient reason for the driving out of the Chinese?

Mr. HOYT. Yes. There are not many white men employed here. The number of white men employed is so small that it cuts no great figure.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Have you any idea as to how many Chinese miners were employed here at first, some eight or nine years ago when they first employed them?

Mr. HOYT. I presume Mr. Clark can answer that question.

Mr. CLARK (Superintendent of the Coal-Mining Department). I am not quite certain: I think about fifty white miners and two hundred Chinamen.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Has there been any increase in the number of Chinamen employed, taking it from that time to this,—have the numbers varied?

Mr. CLARK. There has been an increase in both.

ISAIAH WHITEHOUSE (miner, arrested on suspicion of being one of the active parties in the disturbance). On the 31st of August Mr. Evans came over to the mine and measured up the places. He told me the place was stopped. I asked him where we were to go next. He says, "You can have a room in No. 11 or No. 9." No. 11 was closest to us. I says, "How is No. 5 entry?" it being the best entry in the pit. He says, "You can have a place there if you wish it." I said, "All right, No. 5 entry." He says to Davy Brookman, "You give these men places in No. 5."—"All right," says Davy. The next morning I went down to the place where my partner commenced his place in No 5 entry. After getting my tools up I commenced work in the place marked off next to my partner, and worked there three or four hours. Then I came out, and came up to the town, and told Mr. Evans what I had done. He says, "Go back to your work." Next morning I found two Chinamen in my place at work, shaking coal down and loading it. I did not go back to the office at all. I went in and sat down there for about half an hour, talking with the Chinamen in regard to their shaking the coal down and taking the place.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you not hear them say any thing as to how they came to be there in your place?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. No, sir. Davy Brookman told them in the presence of several there that they should not have that place, as it was given to another man. (This was subsequently denied by Brookman.)

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Were there any other Chinamen in the room or entry?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Yes, eight or ten.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Had the others been working there the day before?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. There were two working in about the fifth room above me when I went in.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. When you were talking with them, did they give any reason why they were working in your room?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I decline to answer any questions under the circumstances I stand in.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How long have you been here?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I came here two years ago last month. This is the only difficulty I have ever had with the Chinamen.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Have they worked in the mines with you?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Yes, I had two Chinamen working with me for sixteen months.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you ever have any trouble or difficulty with them?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Not to amount to any thing.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Have there been frequent quarrels or difficulties between other white miners and Chinamen that you know of personally?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I have seen the boss knock them over. When I came here in the month of August, 1883, the second night I went down to my work, Price and Whitehead went down to No. 4 entry, and while in there they got fighting. Whitehead in getting back again had a blow across the brow, and blood was running down his face. When he came out he says, "Go and fetch Price, for they have killed him." I made from the car, and was going into No. 1, when I met Price crawling out on his hands and knees. He was crying, and says, "They have beat me with a tie." He walked around a little bit, and was off his work four or five days, and he was waited on for several days. When he came back, two Chinamen in No. 4 met him. They were sitting in their place chatting, and I had come over to the other side to slope, when these Chinamen came out from their work over across. The three of them asked Price if he likee fightee. He said "yes." He had his hand on his pistol, and they went back to their work.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Was any complaint ever made against the Chinamen?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Yes

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What was the result of it?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I could not say. The boss came near getting into a racket himself the next morning. I believe the Chinese agent came down that morning, and the men talked the matter over, and it was quashed. The Chinese were not arrested. The investigation was made at the mouth of the pit two years ago last August.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Among the list of grievances is one from yourself that you were required to work an entry where there was rock. When was that?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. About four months ago.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Is it understood that rock is to be paid for?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Yes. The rock being about three feet thick, we did not take that down without pay. Owing to the rock, the Chinamen refused it owing to the danger they would endure by getting under it.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Have you any complaint to make against the Chinamen with reference to this mine?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Nothing more than that they refused the place. We could have refused the place and quit.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Why were you compelled to take this place?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. That I told in my statement. The rooms were not fit for a man to work in. They would kill a man if he had to stay in them. I could not maintain my family and have my health. I was compelled to take the other entry because there was good air there. It has been told not only to me alone, but to a hundred other white miners, that if you do not like the place given you, to quit and take out your tools. The reason why I was compelled to take No. 13 entry was owing to the difference of air. Chinese have always had the preference, and have to my knowledge taken entries without a permit. We had to get orders — we did not have that privilege.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. In the room where you were working, you found bad air. In what entry?

Mr. WHITEHEAD. No. 7.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Is it not customary for miners to make their own break-throughs?

Mr. WHITEHEAD. When paid.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Yes, allowed so much per yard.

Mr. WHITEHEAD. They are not allowed to make break-throughs whenever they please. They have to go to the boss and get orders.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you make any application for making your own break-throughs?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I was only in it about a day and a half.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Why did you want to leave it?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. On account of the air. I have asked the boss to make the break-through. He would not allow me to draw any cross cut when it was necessary. The room had been turned before I went to work there, and there was no break-through in it.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. When a man puts a break-through in, is it an advantage?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. It is not every man who wishes a break-through owing to the prices paid.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Is it not necessary, in order to work a room, that a break-through be made, and by the miner?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Yes, it is the rule.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Is it not the rule in all mines you have ever worked in?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Yes.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. What is the length of the room in this mine?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Forty to sixty yards.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. You merely left the room because you were not willing to make a break-through to get the coal out?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I left it because of the bad air, and rather than go to the expense of making that break-through to mine coal in that room.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. It was a mere question of dollars and cents; as to which you could make the most money out of.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Yes.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Was it customary to ask the mining boss to make these break-throughs?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I do not know whether I asked him that or not.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Do you know the different nationalities of the men employed here outside of the Chinamen?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. There is English, Scotch, Welsh, Scandinavians, and Irish. I am English. I have been engaged in mining for twenty-five years. We have been prevented from going to the office to see the proper authorities to lay our complaints or give reasons in any shape. As soon as we would do that, the next thing we heard was a telephone message to mine No. so and so to discharge that man. I remember last fall when eight others went to the office here to present a part of their grievances to Mr. Tisdel, and they said they could not understand why they were discharged, did not he refer them to that section in the contract? He would not hear their complaints, because they had signed this agreement or contract.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. With whom was this contract made?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Between the miners and the Coal Department.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE to Mr. HOYT. Can you give the proportion of the different nationalities employed here?

Mr. HOYT. No, I cannot. Quite a number of English and Swedes and Danes. I learned the largest proportion of them were English, next Scotch, then came the Swedes, Chinese, Irish.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Are there any others?

Mr. HOYT. Polanders, Hungarians, and Bohemians. A very small sprinkling of this class. There are between seventy and eighty Welsh.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How long have you lived here?

Mr. HOYT. About four months.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE Where did you belong before coming here?

Mr. HOYT. Evanston, Park City, and Green River. I was employed by the Company some eight years as station agent. I am not familiar with coal mining, only as I have seen it. I am now engaged in the mercantile business here.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE to Dr. MURRAY. How long have you resided here, doctor?

Dr. MURRAY. About six months.

Mr. HOYT. I was here when the Chinamen were first put on the road.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you leave the Company of your own choice?

Mr. HOYT. Yes, sir.

Mr HOYT. If we were employed here as workmen in the mines, and

there were two hundred or three hundred Chinamen here, and the company anxious to employ them in the mines, we would be very slow to make our complaints, because there would be men here waiting to take our places. They are bringing them in all the time to employ them.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How many more Chinamen were there here at the time of this trouble than there were last fall?

Mr. HOYT. I do not know.

Mr. HOYT to Mr. CLARK. Was not there some coming on the way when this trouble happened?

Mr. CLARK. I do not know.

Mr. HOYT. They employ them in all their mines and on the track. All money made by the Chinamen is shipped to San Francisco, whereas if white men were employed here, they would live and die here and become identified with the country. It is a mystery to me why they employ these Chinamen. The true reason is that it is a money-making scheme on the part of Beckwith, Quinn, & Co. Of course they want to keep them. It is a matter of dollars and cents with them.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Are you a competitor of this firm at this point?

Mr. HOYT. Yes: they have been trying to do every thing to injure our business. They are the cause of all this trouble.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. If the miners were permitted to trade at whatever store they chose, would there have been any such trouble as led to this outrage?

Mr. HOYT. It is simply guess-work. I cannot say. I think there would have always been the same feeling against the Chinamen, as we find it in all localities. The feeling against the Chinamen grew out of the fact that they were made favorites at Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.'s, and in the mining of coal. They were given the preference in the mines. They wanted the Chinamen to mine as much coal as possible, so that they would earn as much money as possible. They were also compelled to trade there. If the Chinamen had not been compelled to trade at their store, but given the privilege of trading wherever they chose, I think the feeling would have existed under these circumstances on general principles.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Do you sell goods to Chinamen?

Mr. HOYT. We have probably half a dozen on our books. The real truth of this thing is, that they had better chances simply because they were Chinamen, while white miners were refused employment. Chinamen were shipped to Rock Springs, and placed in the mines, and no white men could get employment even upon recommendation. Men who came from the East, and who had been mining for the last fourteen years, were refused employment because Mr. Tisdale said he could get a hundred men at any time. It certainly did lead to the outbreak. Chinamen were

employed, instead of white men. White men could not get work under any consideration.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Have there been any white men employed since last week?

Mr. HOYT. I presume so. During the last two or three months no white men could get work. They shipped Mormons from Utah here, and gave them work.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE to Mr. D. O. CLARK. Has the number of Chinamen been increased in proportion to the white men?

Mr. CLARK. On the last day of June there were two hundred and fifty-six Chinamen and a hundred and fifteen white men. On the last of July, two hundred and ninety-one Chinamen and a hundred and fifty-six white men. Last August, three hundred and thirty-one Chinamen and a hundred and fifty white men.

Mr. HOYT. Men here with families have not had work for two months.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What would be your objection to the employment of Chinese after taking every thing into consideration?

Mr. HOYT. Are you in favor of the Chinese occupying all our country here?

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. That is not an answer to my question.

Mr. HOYT. You come out here with a family, seeking employment, and they tell you they cannot give you work, they have Chinamen in the mines. You go on to the section-foreman, and ask him for employment; and he says, "We employ Chinamen." You reach Evanston, and find the same situation there, and I think your feeling against the employment would indeed be serious. This is what causes the same feeling throughout the country.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. As between a Welshman coming to this country from Great Britain, and a Chinaman coming to this country, do you think the Welshman has any better right to employment?

Mr. HOYT. Certainly. The Welshman comes here to make his home, while the Chinaman does not. If he dies, his bones are transported. Most of the Chinamen here are smuggled in contrary to our laws. It is simply a mild form of slavery.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE to Mr. WHITEHOUSE. When you went back to your room in the mine that day, and found the Chinamen there, you did not take any particular pains to find out whether it was a mistake?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I asked the Chinamen if they would only wait until the pit-boss came; if he said they were to have the place, they could have it.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did they claim the rooms had been assigned to them?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. No.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. You did not go to the pit-boss and inform him the Chinamen were there?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I did not need to go there. He told them they could not have the place: we told them they should not have it. Mr. Brookman told them himself — he is pit-boss. They took the room knowing it was mine.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did Brookman go with you to these two rooms when they were marked off for you?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I believe he went with my partner.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did not he tell you you should take the first two rooms marked off?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Yes. There were two Chinamen this side of us.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. I understand the first two rooms were marked off for Chinamen, and that you did not come down; that you went out, and when you came back took these rooms.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. There were two Chinamen working in the fifth room. I took the room that was marked off for me by Brookman.

David Brookman, acting pit-boss, who marked off the room for Whitehouse and partner, was asked, —

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What instructions had you given relative to the places in No 5 entry of this mine?

Ans. On Monday, the last day of the month, Mr. Evans and I measured No. 5 entry, and stopped the other entries, and we measured four rooms for the Chinamen. We measured until we went right down to No. 13, and Mr. Evans told Whitehouse that he could go to No. 5 or No. 11, either one or both. The next morning, Tuesday, Whitehouse said he would go to No. 5. I said, "If you are going, you had better see Mr. Evans." He went up to No 5, and then he went out to see Mr Evans. Mr. Evans told him it was all right, he could work there. I told him and his partner to turn at the first chalk-mark they came to in the fifth entry. They went in, and saw four Chinamen working inside. They went up to the chalk-mark the next morning after the Chinamen came in, — that was Wednesday, — and wanted their rooms.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Were these rooms given to the Chinamen first marked off for Chinamen?

Ans. Yes.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. After Whitehouse found the Chinamen in there, did he say any thing to you about the Chinamen being in the room?

Ans. No, sir. I was not there.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. He did not hunt you up and say there was a mistake?

Ans. No, sir; I was down in No. 9 entry, in the same mine.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you see or hear any thing of the trouble?

Ans. No, sir. All the Chinamen saw it on the slope, and the white men. I went back into the mines. I did not see any thing of the shooting or firing.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. White miners started this as much as Chinamen?

Ans. Yes, sir.

CHARLES HUGHBERRY testified in regard to the knowledge of the Chinamen that these rooms or entries belonged to Whitehouse and partner: "I was driving where Mr Whitehouse and his partner were working. Mr. Whitehouse went out in the forenoon, and about noon the Chinamen came in and wanted his partner to get out; he said No, this was his room, and that he was not going to get out; and they went into where Whitehouse had started, and went to work in there. He told them it was Whitehouse's room. I heard him tell them this, and they said, 'No savee.'"

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you hear David Brookman say that was their place, and they should go inside and turn rooms?

Ans. Yes. They said "No savee," that was their room.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Was Brookman there when the Chinamen came in?

Ans. No, sir.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. This was after they had started to work in the afternoon?

Ans. Yes, they had started to work in Whitehouse's room.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What followed after that?

Ans. That was all that I saw any thing of.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Were you at the rooms?

Ans. I was there at this time.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. After the Chinamen said in their language what you claim, then what followed?

Ans. I could not tell, because I did not understand them. I know they went inside, and started to work in Whitehouse's room. The pit-boss told Whitehouse to go on and work at the first chalk-mark; that chalk-mark would be the fifth mark. I tried to persuade them not to go to work in there, but they said "No savee."

The above is the whole case of the committee of miners and citizens of Rock Springs as presented to the Government Directors.

Upon this presentation the committee desired that the Union Pacific should admit that it had wantonly provoked the miners to a point beyond endurance, should recognize the justice and propriety of the summary measures which had

been taken, and should officially sanction the same by restoring the miners to their places, and issuing an order forbidding the employment of Chinamen thereafter. This was the proposition made by a committee of which Mr. Vowell was chairman. The committee proposed that, upon condition no Chinamen should be employed at the mines, the miners would all resume work, — including those who had been discharged for participation in the massacre, — leaving the question of grievances to be settled thereafter.

The formal statement of grievances contained five specifications, to wit: —

1. That false weights were used, by which miners were defrauded of four or five hundred pounds of coal to each car.

2. That the presence of Chinamen at Rock Springs made it unsafe for women to venture out alone.

3. That the Chinese miners were favored in the assignment of rooms in the mines, favorably located for easy working.

4. That Superintendent Tisdel sold privileges to Chinamen.

5. That miners were compelled to trade at Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.'s store.

As to the use of false weights, it appeared that the weights which Mr. Hicks referred to were used not for weighing, but to balance the weight of the car. Mr. Hicks was only employed temporarily at weighing, and it is more likely that he misunderstood his instructions, than that the miners who keep a very close watch, and know within a very narrow margin the quantity of coal to a ton, had been defrauded of from twenty to twenty-five per cent in weighing the proceeds of their labor. An examination of coal shipments, however, at mine No. 4, where Mr. Hicks discovered the false weights, shows that during July, eight tons were shipped more than the miners were paid for; while in August, miners were paid for eighty-four more tons than were shipped. No coal is used around the mine unless accounted for as shipped.

The charge that the presence of Chinamen at Rock Springs made it unsafe for women to venture out alone is remarkable

in view of the testimony of eye-witnesses of the massacre, in which some of the grossest brutalities were perpetrated upon Chinamen by women, one woman notoriously shooting two of them.

The essence of the alleged grievances obviously lies in the last three specifications. The essential grievance was the employment of Chinese. Other complaints were make-weights, — mere additional counts to round out and complete the indictment. It was in the first place alleged, that favoritism was shown the Chinese, and that the best rooms for working in the mines were sold to them by the superintendent. Both at the informal hearing before Mr. Bromley on the 15th, and at the formal hearing before the Government Directors on the 17th, testimony was adduced in support of this charge.

Two or three Chinamen, evidently much frightened, as was natural under the circumstances, were brought forward by Dr. Murray to testify that they had bought privileges in the mines. It turned out that the transaction referred to was the purchase, for one hundred dollars, of a room by one gang of Chinamen from another gang. Dr. Murray supplied the additional statement that "this was a second purchase; the first being made from the big bossy man." The other statements on this point were, with a single exception, loose and vague, with no foundation but idle gossip. The one exception was the case of a pit-boss named McBride who did sell a room to a gang of Chinamen. It was quickly discovered, and brought to the attention of Superintendent Tisdel, who immediately discharged McBride, remarking at the time that if any more rooms were sold they would have to be bought of him. The meaning of this was plain. It was understood at the time as simply an announcement that such things would not be permitted. It never would have been construed seriously, had it been possible in any other way to make out even the semblance of a case against the company's officers. Superintendent Tisdel would hardly have made such a statement publicly if he had actually intended to

sell privileges; nor would the miners have submitted to such a state of things without the most energetic protest. Coal-miners are tenacious of their rights, and by no means a submissive class of men. That the Rock Springs miners are not exceptions in this respect, was sufficiently shown in the work of Sept. 2. Mushut and Lawson, the two miners who testified as above that they were turned out of their places, and had been informed that the good places had been sold to Chinamen, were contradicted point blank by Superintendent Tisdel; and at the hearings where both of them orally testified, they contradicted themselves in a manner so marked and positive as to excite comment among their own friends.

Mr. Tisdel was personally questioned concerning the charges against him, and the following is the report of the examination: —

Government Director SAVAGE. "Certain grievances have been brought to our notice by a committee of white miners here, to the effect that you had sold, and declared that you would sell, privileges to work in different rooms in the mines, in specially advantageous rooms in the mines, and that privileges were specially granted to Chinese."

Mr. TISDEL. "It is not so. I might have made an unwise remark when two persons reported it to me; they probably did not take it as it was intended. There was McBride, a pit-boss, and it came to my notice that he had been selling rooms; I told him to come to the office, and discharged him for it, and at the same time said that if any more rooms were to be sold they should apply to me at the office."

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you mean to be understood that you would sell rooms?

Ans. I meant it to be understood that there would be no rooms sold.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Have you ever exercised any discriminations in regard to privileges in the mines in favor of the Chinese?

Ans. Never.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Have complaints been made about discrimination being made in favor of the Chinese by parties? or have they come to your knowledge?

Ans. Only in this one instance.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How has it been about complaints of favoritism by the white people? Have white miners had preference over Chinese?

Ans. No, sir. No complaints have been made. There have been men of both nationalities come to the office to see if they could not get better rooms, or something like that.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Who is that generally left with?

Ans. It is generally left with the pit-boss.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. There are some entries, then, that are understood to be preferable to others?

Ans. An entry is better than a room, of course. A man can make more money driving an entry than he can in a room; he is paid a little more for it.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. In driving an entry, is he paid for the coal?

Ans. Yes.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Please state whether you had any knowledge of this feeling of the white miners against the Chinamen.

Ans. No, sir. Nothing special; I had no knowledge of this matter at all. Of course, there has been for the last two or three months, ever since this Chinese question has been agitated, more or less talk. For the last two or three months this question has been agitated all along the road.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Is it confined to coal-mines along the road?

Ans. No, sir; I think not. I knew nothing of the trouble here until the night I went to Cheyenne. They have never made any complaints to me; there was nothing to indicate that there was to be an outbreak.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. This outbreak, then, was entirely unexpected to you?

Ans. Yes.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Were you here on that day?

Ans. No, sir; I was in Cheyenne.

It was next charged that the white miners were imposed upon by Chinamen; or, as in the case of Mr. Chalice, were compelled to run for their lives from them. Whatever prejudice may exist against the Chinamen for any cause, it will not be pretended by intelligent persons that they are given to violence, or that there is danger of white men — least of all, men of the temper of coal-miners — being intimidated by them. Mr. Whitehouse, the miner with whom the altercation concerning the room in the mine which ended in the massacre, began, said he had worked with Chinamen for sixteen months without trouble or difficulty. Mr. Hoyt of the Citizens' Committee laughed outright, when asked by Government Director Savage whether the Chinamen had ever exhibited any desire to drive out the white miners. He said, "The Chinese are a timid race; they are more like children

really than men. They won't fight. There is no fight to them, except when they are in great numbers."

The charge that miners were compelled to trade at Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.'s store, was found to have no foundation in fact. The firm of Beckwith, Quinn, & Co. have had for the past ten years — as will presently appear — a contract with the Union Pacific Railway Company, under which they act as agents of the company in procuring Chinese laborers and in paying off all miners, both white and Chinese. The pay-rolls are kept by the company's officers, but the amounts due upon them are placed in the hands of Beckwith, Quinn, and Co., at the end of each month, and by them disbursed. The sole advantage gained by them is in being able to extend credit to the miners during the month upon the security of the pay-rolls. There was no testimony offered, nor any specific complaint made, against them on the score of excessive charges or otherwise. Their connection with the employment of Chinese laborers seems to have been the only real ground of the feeling against them among the miners. On the part of certain members of the citizens' committee, there was, in addition to the anti-Chinese feeling, evident jealousy growing out of competition in trade. Thus Mr. Hoyt, who acted as chairman of the citizens' committee at the second hearing, having expressed the opinion that the employment of Chinamen was "a money-making scheme on the part of Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.," was asked if he was a competitor of that firm, to which he replied, "Yes. They have been trying to do every thing to injure our business. They charge us fifteen per cent for collecting bills from the miners."

From the statements made by the citizens and miners in the two hearings, as well as from the document read by Mr. Hoyt, it was evidently their simple and sincere belief that the privilege of working in the Rock Springs mines belonged exclusively to so-called white miners, that it was a wrong and an outrage upon them to employ Chinese, that it was especially wrong and outrageous to refuse employment to white miners, no matter what their character was, so long as

there was work enough in the mines to keep Chinamen employed; that the superintendents who gave the Chinamen work, were the foes of white labor, and should be dismissed; and that Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., the labor contractors, as the agency through which the Chinamen had been engaged, were the primary cause of the difficulty, and as such should be at once cut off from all connection with the Union Pacific, and the contract with them summarily terminated.

The root of the difficulty being thus the employment of Chinamen in the mines, inquiry was made concerning the circumstances under which this class of labor was originally introduced.

It appeared that almost exactly ten years before, in November, 1875, the miners at Rock Springs, who were then receiving one dollar per ton for coal mined, made a demand for twenty-five cents per ton advance. There was at the time an increasing consumption of the coal from these mines; and the first intimation the company had of the action of the miners was through their action in restricting themselves in the hours of labor and reducing the output, many of the miners doing their day's work in from four to five hours. It was under these circumstances that Mr. S. H. H. Clark, then general superintendent of the Union Pacific Railway Company, resorted to the employment of Chinese.

The story of the transaction was clearly told in "The Cheyenne Leader" of Sept. 11, the editor of which, Mr. Glafcke, was personally cognizant of the facts. A strenuous opponent of Chinese labor, in the article from which the following extract is taken, the editor of the "Leader" gives his reasons for opposing its introduction into this country. But he inquires, "Who is to blame?" and then proceeds as follows: —

Upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility of bringing to Wyoming the heathens that have taken the places of white laborers?

In the autumn of 1875, the coal company employed about five hundred white miners in their Rock Springs mines. The company paid a very liberal contract-price per ton for mining the coal. It enabled the

men to earn from six to ten dollars per day, but they worked only about three days in the week. The winter was approaching, and the company needed more coal. The writer was present when Mr. S. H. H. Clark, then general superintendent, notified the miners that the company needed an increased supply of coal, and requested them during the next three months to so arrange their forces as to produce an increased output of at least twenty-five per cent. The miners replied that they would consider the matter, and report their decision to him in the evening. A meeting of the Miners' Union was called, and after a lengthy discussion it was decided to decline Mr. Clark's proposition, and not to increase the output. A committee thereupon called upon the superintendent, and communicated to him the action of the union. Mr. Clark, naturally, expressed great surprise. Addressing the committee he said, "Does your union propose to dictate to this company regarding the amount of coal it is to mine? Do you intend to limit our supply of coal from our own mines, when we are ready to pay the regular price per ton heretofore agreed upon? Do you wish to cripple us in failing to give us an adequate supply of our own coal for the purpose of running our trains and to supply needs of the people residing along the line of our road who depend upon us for their necessary fuel? If that is your purpose, gentlemen," continued Mr. Clark, "I herewith give you notice that in a very short time I will have a body of men here who will dig for us all the coal we want." This ended the interview, and as no further reply was received from the miners before Mr. Clark's departure the following morning, that gentleman proceeded at once to provide ways and means to protect the interests of the company. Within sixty days three hundred Chinese laborers were at work in the Rock Springs mines. Is the above question, 'Who is to blame?' answered to the satisfaction of our readers?

But for the above-mentioned action of the Coal Miners' Union, not a Chinaman would be employed at any of the Union Pacific mines to-day. The company much prefer white laborers, as, all things considered, they are the best workers and make the best citizens. One thousand white men with their families and connections, with their thrift, enterprise, and needs, are of more value to the Union Pacific Railway Company than ten thousand Chinamen. But if white men will not dig the company's coal for pay, who will blame the company for hiring yellow, black, or red men, who are ready and willing to do what white men will not do?

To avoid similar complications in future, a contract was made with Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., for the employment of Chinese miners, of which the following is a copy: —

Agreement made and entered into this twenty-fourth day of December, A.D. 1875, between Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., of Evanston, Wyoming Territory, of the first part, and the Union Pacific Railroad Company, of the second part:

WITNESSETH: The parties of the first part hereby agree to furnish to the party of the second part, all the Chinese laborers requisite for the complete working of their several coal-mines on the line of the Union Pacific Railroad, at the same prices and on the same terms and conditions as stated in a certain contract for similar service made by Sisson, Wallace, & Co., for and in behalf of Chinese laborers, with the Rocky Mountain Coal & Mining Company, a copy of which is hereto attached and made part of this agreement.

The said parties of the first part further agree to furnish to the said party of the second part, upon a reasonable notice from their general superintendent, a sufficient number of Chinese laborers for the repairs of the track of the Union Pacific Railroad, or such portion thereof, in addition to that which is now being worked by Chinamen, as the party of the second part may require.

It is hereby mutually understood and agreed:—

First, That all of the Chinese laborers so furnished by the parties of the first part for the purposes named, shall be delivered by them to the Union Pacific Railroad Company, at Ogden, free from all expense to it, and that free transportation shall be afforded by the Union Pacific Railroad Company, for all such Chinese laborers to and from all points on its line, wherever their services may be required.

Second, That the surplus Chinese required and employed in the mines during the winter season shall be transferred in the spring to the repairs of track of the said Union Pacific Railroad, and continued there at the prices now allowed upon the company rolls for such labor, during the summer, and until their services are again required in the coal-mines.

Third, That all mining tools required by the Chinese in their labors under this contract, and which are furnished by the said Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., shall be charged at cost price only, with freight added, the said party of the second part hereby reserving the right at any time to provide same at their own cost and expense.

Fourth, The said Beckwith, Quinn, & Co. shall become responsible to the said Union Pacific Railroad Company, for all water furnished by it to white miners, and all other parties excepting Chinamen, and shall account for same at the present prices; also for all coal delivered to Chinese or white miners; and further agree that no extra charge will be made by them for delivering water or coal as above.

The said party of the second part hereby agrees, in consideration of the premises aforesaid, to pay to the said parties of the first part the amount of the rolls for Chinese labor so furnished by them, at and after

the rates named in the Rocky Mountain Coal & Iron Company contract hereto attached, regularly on the fifteenth day of each month next succeeding that in which said labor has been performed; such payment shall be made in the same manner as the present track rolls for Chinese labor.

The party of the second part hereby agrees to sell to the said Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., all the present stock of supplies, tools, store furniture and fixtures, contained in their store at Rock Springs, W.T., on the following terms and conditions: viz., —

For all staple articles, such as groceries and other goods bought on thirty days time, the invoice cost thereof as ascertained from an inventory made about Nov. 1, 1875, with freight added; for all other merchandise and supplies not within the classification of staples, a deduction of ten per cent from the inventory prices referred to shall be made.

For all store furniture and fixtures, the prices shall be fixed by M. H. Goble and A. C. Beckwith, whose appraisal shall be final.

The value of said stock of supplies, tools, etc., shall be ascertained by said Goble and Beckwith in an inventory to be taken by them on or before the 1st of January, 1876, and payments made for the same shall be made by the parties of the first part to the party of the second part, as follows: —

The aggregate value of the stock as ascertained shall be divided into fifteen (15) equal payments, one of which shall be deducted commencing with January, 1876, from the pay-rolls for Chinese labor of each and every succeeding month, in consecutive order, until the full amount of same shall have been deducted and paid to the said Union Pacific Railroad Company.

The said party of the second part hereby further agrees to rent to the said Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., their store-house and appurtenances at Rock Springs, for the monthly rental of one hundred dollars, and this amount shall also be deducted from the Chinese pay-rolls each month in the settlement of the joint accounts.

It is hereby mutually understood and agreed that this contract shall take effect on the 1st of January, 1876, and continue in force so long as it may operate to the mutual advantage of the parties hereto, but may be terminated by either upon giving a written notice of ninety days.

In presence of

A. D. CLARKE,
O. H. EARLE,
CHAS. STONE.

BECKWITH, QUINN, & CO.
THE UNION PACIFIC R. R. CO.,
By S. H. H. CLARK, *Gen. Supt.*

[Executed in duplicate.]

Agreement of the Rocky Mountain Coal & Iron Company with the Chinamen.

Chinamen agree to mine the coal, load it in pit cars, and deliver it at the mouth of the room free from slack and rock, and assorted, either lump, small, or mixed, as directed, at seventy-four (74) cents coin per ton of twenty-two hundred and forty (2240) pounds, from all places, either rooms, levels or air courses.

An additional price of $3 coin per running yard to be paid for levels and air courses run double shift; width of rooms to be eighteen (18) feet; levels twelve (12) feet; and air courses ten (10) feet. If these widths are exceeded, endangering the mine, they are to be charged back with the yardage $3 per running yard.

They agree to load all box cars, for which they are to receive at the rate of fifty (50) cents per car; coal to be shovelled from centre of car, and loaded in ends.

The track is to be laid by the Chinamen in the places where they are working (except levels), the material being furnished at the mouth of the mine.

The company track layer to put in all switches and turn-outs. Day laborers working in mine (furnishing their own oil) are to receive $35 coin per month. Day laborers working on top, pushing cars, etc., $33 coin per month.

Outside laborers, such as section men, etc., $31 coin per month. Carpenters, $33 coin per month. (26 days called a month.)

In cases of fire or cave-in of the mine, or any other accident tending to stop work either inside or outside the mine, all the men required by the company are to be suspended from contract work, and put on the labor required at day-laborers' wages.

All cars of coal sent out of the mine in which there is slack or rock, will be docked half of their weight; and if men disobey their foreman, or persist in sending out slack or rock, after being docked, they will be discharged.

All men are to commence and stop work by the whistle.

Company are to furnish tools, do the blacksmithing and repairing, furnish mules, harness, and pit cars, and supply of water, for the men.

Company are to deliver coal at the houses of all the laborers, for which the Chinamen are to pay 50 cents per man per month.

Company are to furnish houses for the Chinamen to live in, at $5 per month for each house.

Men will pay for oil, powder, and blasting paper, and will be charged for cars or tools broken, lost, or disabled by their carelessness; broken and disabled property at what it cost to repair it, and tools at following prices:

Picks and handles	$1.75
Drills	2.50
Needles	1.50
Scrapers	.50
Riddles	2.00
Quart oil-cans	.30
Powder-cans	.75
Pick-handles	.40
Couplings	2.00
Shovels	2.25

A verbal agreement was subsequently made with Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., in addition to the above contract, under which the latter were to pay all the miners, both white and Chinese. This arrangement has continued from that time to the present.

The introduction of Chinese labor into the mines was far from receiving the approval of the miners whose action had forced the company to the step. There was organized opposition, with threats and even demonstrations of violence; but the presence of United States troops preserved the peace. Except for the presence of Chinamen, the miners controlled the situation. Not only could they dictate their own terms as to wages, but they could say how much coal should be produced. Their avowed purpose was to hold the company in their power. They had initiated their programme by summary proceedings which forced the company to measures of self-defence. Without note of warning or previous sign of discontent, they had put their demands in the form of an ultimatum. There was no appeal to reason, no admission that there could be any middle ground or basis for compromise.

The case of the striking miners had so little ground for justification, and the action of the company was so clearly warranted by the existing facts, that the effort to induce the mining organizations elsewhere to make common cause with the strikers at Rock Springs came to naught. In a short time it became apparent even to the strikers that they had made a mistake, and that it would be useless for them to

undertake to disturb the order of things which had resulted therefrom. Rock Springs thus came to be — not from the company's preference, but because driven to it as the only alternative to the abandonment of the mines — practically a Chinese mining camp. Work was resumed with about fifty white miners and a hundred and fifty Chinese. The intention of the coal-mining department was to maintain about this proportion; but the white miners gradually increased until at the time of the massacre there were a hundred and fifty of them to three hundred and thirty-one Chinese. There was no difference in wages. The standard price was seventy-four cents per ton, though it varied from seventy to eighty-five cents according to the vein.

With the departure from Rock Springs of the striking miners, in 1875, order and quiet was restored, and the peaceable working of the mines resumed. Hostility to Chinese labor continued, though there was no violent demonstration. But the opposition of the miners' unions was not confined to the Chinamen; against Mormon miners, who would not join their organization, it was little less pronounced. The reason was obvious. The presence in the mines of any men or set of men who were not connected with the organization, and consequently not bound to go out when a strike was ordered, set limitations to the power of the latter, and operated as a check and restraint upon them.

During the summer of 1885 there seems to have been a growing impression among the white miners that they had, or ought to have, an exclusive right to work the mines; that the company was in duty bound to give employment to all white men who applied; that the Chinamen were interlopers, and should be driven out to make room for white men; in short, that affairs should be restored to the condition in which they were in 1875 before the precipitate action of the striking miners forced the employment of Chinamen upon the company. No warrant for any such expectation could be found. Nor, indeed, was the matter ever formally brought to the attention of the company's officers, though John L.

Lewis of Denver, holding official relation with the Miners' Union, seems to have interested himself in the matter. Some of the newspapers which strove to make the company responsible for driving the oppressed miners to desperation laid much stress upon the circumstance that Mr. Lewis had called the attention of the company's officers to the alarming condition of affairs, and the danger of an outbreak, some days before the disturbances occurred. The reference is to two letters written to Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., and Superintendent D. O. Clark of the coal-mining department. These letters are as follows: —

DENVER, COL., Aug. 28, 1885.

BECKWITH, QUINN, & Co., Evanston, Wyo.

Gentlemen Sirs, — It pains me greatly to have to call your attention to the fact that the Chinese problem at Rock Springs is assuming a grave attitude. Were it not for the fact that I am sensible there will be an outburst of indignation against these people, I would not trouble you with correspondence upon the matter. But sensible as I am that unless a change is effected immediately there will be an outbreak, I respectfully notify you of the storm that is brewing. It is useless for me to beat about the bush in this matter. The consequences are inevitable. There is nearly seventy-five of our men lying idle at Rock Springs at the present time, while the Chinese are flooding in there by the score. This is not consistent with the principle you approved of whilst we were in Omaha.

Our men at Carbon are deprived of their just share of work by reason of this unjust way of doing business. I shall hate to see a strike take place, but there seems no alternative to me at present. I am for peace first and always, but it must be such that will concede to our men "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work."

Comparing Carbon with Colorado miners, they are far behind in the race. And Rock Springs are much farther still. Please let me hear from you what it is that prompts you to this policy which you seem to be carrying into vigorous action. I shall respectfully await a reply.

Yours,

(Signed) JOHN L. LEWIS,
303 Larimer Street.

DENVER, COL., Aug. 28, 1885.

D. O CLARK, Esq., Union Coal Department, Omaha.

My Dear Sir, — Although I have been lying sick in my bed for the past four weeks, I have been flooded with correspondence from Wyoming.

the sum and substance of which is, that the Chinese are having all the work they can do, working night and day, whilst our men at Rock Springs are left out in the cold. I understand that they are now working almost day and night, whilst Carbon men have worked but one day in the last two weeks. This makes the situation terribly aggravating, and in spite of my efforts will undoubtedly result in a severe struggle if longer continued.

For God's sake do what you can to avoid this calamity; the pressure is more than I can bear. See that justice is done to all the men at Carbon, and to the unemployed portion at Rock Springs.

This is surely not consistent with the doctrine preached by Mr. Beckwith whilst at Omaha.

Please let me hear from you early.

Yours truly,

(Signed) JOHN L. LEWIS,
368 Larimer Street.

These letters, it will be observed, are dated at Denver, and on the 29th of August. They accordingly reached Evanston and Omaha respectively, barely in advance of the outbreak of Sept. 2. There was thus no time, even had there been the disposition, to inquire into the ground of Mr. Lewis's complaints. It will be noticed, moreover, that he proceeds upon the assumption heretofore referred to, that the employment of Chinamen was in itself not only a reasonable ground of complaint, but such a grievance as was likely, if persisted in, to produce "an outbreak of indignation." Under the circumstances, already related, attending the introduction of the Chinese into the mines, it was hardly reasonable to suppose the company would at once, upon Mr. Lewis's demand, reverse its policy, and, without discussion or guaranty as to the future, dismiss workmen against whom there was no cause of complaint, and put itself again at the mercy of men who had already shown themselves so overbearing and unreasonable.

Meanwhile the emergency foreshadowed by Mr. Lewis did not occur. A strike, unaccompanied by violence, would not have closed the door to an adjustment based on a mutual and perhaps a better understanding. This the officials of the company desired. They were under instructions to lose

no opportunity to bring it about. But the original mistake on the part of the miners in 1875 was repeated and aggravated in 1885. They left nothing to reason. It never entered into their calculations, that the company could be reached in any other way than by brute force, or that there could be any settlement of differences except upon a final finding as to which was the stronger; nor did it occur to them as a possibility, that there might be another side to the case than their own, and that the owners of the mines had at least the right of being consulted as to the management of their own property.

Time and intelligent discussion might have brought clearer views, and paved the way to a better understanding; but the accidental altercation between the Chinese and white miners on the morning of Sept. 2 precipitated a crisis with its horrible culmination of murder, arson, and pillage.

The story of the outbreak already quoted from "The Rock Springs Independent" is from the point of view of a sympathizer with the anti-Chinese sentiment, but, so far as can be learned, is in its recital of facts correct. The statement of Mr. James A. Evans, the foreman at the mine when the difficulty began, covers details of the affair not included in this account, and is as follows:—

I went to No. 6 mines in the morning to measure all the entries, work done in that month, and gave orders to stop all the entries after that day. Starting to measure at No. 5 entry, where there are eight Chinamen working in top and bottom entries, I told the Chinamen that they had to go and start to work in rooms on the next day. I went with one of them, and showed him where the eight men were to start, and marked out the four places for them to work in next day. Went down to No. 13 entry, in which there are white men working, and I said to them that the entry was to be stopped after that day, and that they could go to No. 5 entry or No. 11 entry, to open rooms; and I told David Brookman, if they chose to go to No. 5 entry, to mark out two more rooms in there for them. Mr. Brookman did so, and told the men to go and start in the first two rooms that were marked.

On the morning of the 1st of September, 1885, four of the Chinese came to work, and the other four staid at home. The four that came to work started in the two inside rooms of the four that were marked.

The two white men brought up their tools from entry 13, and started in the two outside rooms. Next morning, on the second day of the month, the four Chinamen that were out the day before came in, and started to work in those places; when the white men came to work, the Chinamen were in those rooms that they had started the day before, and then started a dispute, Chinamen claiming that the rooms were marked for them, and there followed a fight.

I was on the way to No. 6 mines, when I met a Chinaman running to meet me, stating that there was a quarrel in the mines, and that the white men and Chinamen were fighting. I hastened up to the mines, and found most of the Chinamen out on top of the slope, and I told them to come down into the mines with me, and they came. When I got to No. 5 entry, all the white men were out on the slope, waiting to go up in the cars, and I asked them what was the trouble, and some of them said that they were not going to suffer Chinamen to drive them out of the mines; and I asked them to come out of the cars, and come one side to reason the matter, that I thought it could all be settled very easily; but they would not listen. One of them cried out, "Come on, boys: we may as well finish it now, as long as we have commenced; it has to be done anyhow." And I told them that they could not go up in the cars, and one of them said, "Come on, boys, we will walk up." After that they went. I called on Isaiah Whitehouse, one of the two men that started on those two rooms, and talked to him, and he volunteered to go back to work. I asked him if he would go up the slope, and try and persuade the men to come back to work; and he went, and reported to me afterwards that he did so, but could not persuade any of them.

I went up out of the slope in about an hour: and passing down between No. 6 and the town, on the railroad there were twenty or thirty men with rifles, a little distance off, and after I passed they marched down town in a body, and they paraded around town until noon; then they dispersed. After dinner they gathered around in troops, here and there, chasing a Chinaman now and then.

I went to No. 5 shaft after dinner; and coming up out of the shaft about three o'clock, I saw a gang of men with rifles coming across the railroad bridge near No. 5 shaft, and going around behind Chinatown, and firing shots toward the houses, and the Chinamen gathering together; this was kept up for more than half an hour, when a man on horseback rode up to the crowd, and in a few moments half a dozen men went toward the Chinese; but before they reached them, the Chinese started away. Then the crowd rushed after them, firing shots. When they got to the houses they commenced breaking them, and soon after I saw one on fire, and then the others followed. The crowd then came across from there to town to a Chinese laundry, searched around, and started away, when somebody cried out, "This way, boys," and

made another search, firing into the building; and I was told that there was a Chinaman shot in that house. Then they started from there, and surrounded the house in which I was boarding, and asked if Evans was in. I heard them, and went out, and asked them if they wished to see me; and one by the name of Allen Roberts said that they had come to the conclusion to ask me to leave town, and that they did not want to hurt me, and that they would give me from then until the train came in, to go. It was then near six o'clock, and the train left at twenty minutes past seven o'clock: so I left town when the train came in.

Notice was given at the same time to Mr. W. H. O'Donnell, an employe of Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., who acted as agent in engaging Chinese miners as follows: —

MR. O'DONNELL, — You must not bring any more Chinamen to this town. Leave as soon as possible.

Mr. O'Donnell left the same evening and on the same train as Mr. Evans, deeming his life in danger if he remained.

As coming from an entirely disinterested source, the following account of the affair, written from notes taken by a gentleman who happened to be passing through Rock Springs at the time, and published in many newspapers, will be of interest: —

Situated in the south-western part of the Territory, Rock Springs is a place of six hundred or seven hundred inhabitants. The chief industry is coal-mining, and the mines are owned by the Union Pacific Railway Company. For some time the company, through agents, have employed Chinamen in these mines; and on the day of the massacre there were five hundred Celestials in the Chinese colony, which was located in the east section of the town.

All summer long among the white miners there has been developing a feeling of bitterness against the Chinese, nothing but a pretext being wanted to make an attack. This pretext came Wednesday morning, Sept 2, when a quarrel arose in the mines, between a white miner and two Chinamen, over the possession of a "room." The fight in the mines became general, and did not end until one Chinaman had been killed, four severely wounded, and several white men badly hurt. All the work in the mines then ceased; the Chinamen going to their settlement, and the white miners returning to town, and arming themselves with any thing that would carry ball or shot. In the mean time, the Chinese had

raised a flag of danger in Chinatown, and every Celestial in Rock Springs was making for his quarters. They appeared to realize the danger of their position, and were actively preparing to depart. No sooner had the miners finished their dinners, than they began to assemble in the streets, and "Vengeance on the Chinese!" was the universal cry, even some of the women joining in the demonstration. A vote was then taken, and the immediate expulsion of the Mongolians was determined upon. Seventy-five armed men, followed by a crowd of boys armed with clubs, shovels, picks, and drills, took up their march for Chinatown, proceeding down the railroad-track. There was a party of Chinamen at work beside the railroad, and the shooting opened on them; but they cleared the way in season to escape serious injury. When within a short distance of the settlement, the mob halted, and sent forward a committee to warn the Chinese that they must leave the place within an hour. A reply was received that they would go in that time; but hardly had thirty minutes elapsed before the crowd moved on toward the enemy, yelling like wild men, and shooting every Chinaman who was in sight. The terrible scene that followed cannot be overdrawn. Without making a show of resistance, the Chinese fled towards the mountains, some hatless, some shoeless, and all without their effects. Running after them, firing indiscriminately, came the white miners, now crazed by the reports of the firearms, and groans of the wounded and dying Chinamen who had been shot before they could escape from the settlement, some even before they left their doors.

Fleeing for their lives, the Chinamen shaped their course in the direction of Bitter Creek, the miners in hot pursuit, and shooting as rapidly as the weapons could be loaded. After the Celestials reached the hills, the shooting ceased, and the inhuman mob marched back to Chinatown, and began looting the houses, of which there were about forty, — the property of the Union Pacific, and worth probably five hundred dollars each. Every thing of value was taken from the houses, and they were then set on fire. The flames forced out quite a number of Chinamen who had, until then, eluded detection. These poor fellows were either murdered outright, or fatally wounded and thrown into the burning buildings there to be roasted alive. Not less than fifteen met their fate in this way; and there is now but little doubt that there were at least fifty Chinamen killed altogether. All the afternoon and throughout the night, pistol-shots could be heard in the direction of Chinatown. The burning buildings gave the picture a weird coloring, and the first forcible crusade against the Chinese in America will long be remembered by those who participated in or witnessed it.

During the night, guards were placed about the town to protect the property of the citizens, while the expelled Chinamen rested their limbs on the hills several miles distant, but not too far to witness the destruc-

tion of their homes. Thursday morning, Chinatown presented a terrible sight. Protruding from the smouldering ruins were the charred remains of eleven Chinamen, and a sickening odor permeated the entire settlement. Clothing, bedding, household utensils, and provisions were scattered about in confusion, and traces of the preceding day's bloody work could be noticed at every turn. To the east of the town, several bodies were recovered of Chinamen who had been shot while endeavoring to escape, and who were left by their companions to suffer and die where they fell. In the morning the Chinamen who sought refuge in the hills came down to the railroad, and Division Superintendent George W. Dickinson ordered them brought to Evanston on a freight-train. The refugees, about four hundred and fifty in number, arrived at Evanston about four o'clock, Thursday afternoon, half starved, and half frightened to death. They were quartered at the Chinese settlement in Evanston, their fellow-countrymen doing every thing possible to provide for their comfort. The county sheriff telegraphed to Governor Warren at Cheyenne for troops, and the Union Pacific officials were promptly notified. Immediately after their arrival in Evanston, the Chinamen went to a gun-store, and purchased all the revolvers the establishment had in stock; and no doubt this action, in a measure, averted another attack, for the anti-Chinese feeling in Evanston is as bitter as it is in Rock Springs. It was estimated that there were not more than fifteen men in the place, including county and railroad officials, who would turn their hand to save the persecuted Celestials. The saloons were closed, and deputies placed on guard to protect the railroad property, while knots of men gathered about the streets, discussing the situation in whispers. Fortunately there was no outbreak, and the next afternoon at two o'clock a special train bearing Governor Warren and Assistant General Superintendent Edward Dickinson arrived on the scene. Troops were ordered, — one company to Rock Springs, and two companies to Evanston. The Chinamen had very little money in their possession, and were dependent upon their Evanston brethren for food as well as shelter. Ah Say, the chief interpreter, was met by the writer, Thursday evening. He is a man apparently forty years old, with a care-worn but intelligent face. He was extremely nervous, and his conversation evidenced intense agitation. In reply to an interrogation as to whether or not his government would be likely to take any steps in the matter, he replied that the massacre would doubtless be the subject of some correspondence between the two nations, but would result in nothing more; as his country objected strongly to the emigration of her subjects, and would probably hold this affair up as a warning to others not to leave China. He was urgent in his appeals to Superintendent Dickinson to provide something for the men to do without delay. Governor Warren, who, by the way, was born among the Berkshire hills, had feared there would be an outbreak, but had no

idea it would be so serious. The question of Chinese labor had now assumed a serious phase all through the Western country, and prompt measures were necessary to prevent recurrence of the outbreak. He should favor maintaining troops at the threatened points until the matter was definitely settled.

Along the Union Pacific Railroad across Wyoming, there are miles and miles of country where nothing but sage-brush grows, and where there is not the first indication of civilization, aside from the railroad. White men, when sent out on these sections, work a month, draw their pay, and leave, thereby causing the company oftentimes serious inconvenience. The Chinese can be put at work in these same places, do their work well, and be relied upon year in and year out. In the mines the white men are grumblers, never appearing to be contented, and whenever they find that the company is short of coal, they never lose an opportunity to strike.

A remarkable fact in connection with the butchery is, that but a few, if any, of the mob are citizens of the United States. Cornishmen, Danes, and Poles appeared to predominate. Such a thing as law was farthermost from their minds; nor were the consequences of their fiendish crusade made the subject of a moment's thought. But perhaps there was little need for reflection in regard to the consequences; for men conversant with the population say it is an impossibility to empanel a jury in Sweetwater County that will convict even one of the murderers. Certain it is, that, unless the United States interfere in the matter, very few of them can be brought to justice. It is argued that surely there must be some law-abiding citizens in the county: there may be, but they are not in sight.

For some time previous to the Rock Springs massacre, a rumor was afloat that there was a preconcerted movement afoot, to forcibly expel the Chinese from Rock Springs, Evanston, and another mining camp in that section of the country, — Carbon. The first attack, it was said, was to have been made at Carbon, but the raid at Rock Springs seems to have interrupted the programme, and nothing was heard of the alleged plans thereafter.

Meanwhile the lawless sentiment prevails in the vicinity, but is held in abeyance by the presence of United States troops.

There is one other point of view of this transaction which is not wholly without interest. It is that of the men, inoffensive and unoffending, ignorant of the deadly hostility of their fellow-workmen, as they were of the tongue in which they might cry for quarter against it, against whom this unheralded tempest of wrath burst with such fury. The arrival

at Rock Springs, on the same day with the Government Directors, of the Chinese consuls at San Francisco and New York, with their interpreter, afforded the former an opportunity of hearing the testimony of some of the Chinamen who were witnesses of the massacre, and victims of the accompanying outrages.

Ah Kuhn, an intelligent Chinaman, speaking English after a fashion, and acting accordingly as interpreter and business manager for the Chinese miners, was called, and answered inquiries as follows: —

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Where were you on the day this difficulty occurred?

Ans. I was in No. 3 mine.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. When did you first hear that there was any trouble?

Ans. About half-past nine I hear there was trouble over in No. 6 mine. I go down Rock Springs with China boy to office. I ask for Mr. Evans. I ask him, "You know trouble over in No. 6 mine?" He say yes. He go No. 3 mine; he stop about hour; I wait for him, I want see him again. He drive wagon up to No. 4 mine. I see lots white men (pretty near a hundred) come across from saloon, and go in section-house. White man he knock China boy down with brick on head; boy he holler and come to Chinatown. I stop him, I tell him "Keep still." About a hundred white men go up to No. 3 mine with rifles. All boys get scared and run away. I say, "Come back." Fellow on hill with rifle stop and shot good many times and come down.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you see some of the Chinamen shot?

Ans. No, I down in cellar, no see 'em. I tell Mr. Evans all boys scared. About eight o'clock some boy he come in and take old boxes and pile 'em all together; he say to another boy, "You get some matches?" I feel awful sorry: not know how to get out. He go out about five minutes; I tell him, "Boy better go." Chinese boy he would not go in house; boys hit him; he fall down on the ground, and boys get scared and run. I stay in cellar from three to eight o'clock. About half-past ten I see lots of men coming down from No. 6 mine. Good many have rifles. I go up to No. 3 mine, and tell Mr. Miller he drive wagon over to Chinatown. I tell him, "White man make much trouble, driving Chinamen away." Mr. Miller say, "No get scared." Chinamen work in No. 4 room, No. 5 entry; white man come in and drive Chinaman out. Knock China boys down on the ground; boss he send car down and bring China boy out, and send for

wagon and take boy back to his camp. About eight o'clock I saw all houses burning up. I come out of cellar. Three or four white men came along and kick door, and say, "You better come out, or we drag you out." I come out, and run about two hundred yards. I turn my head, I look back and see three or four white men standing. He see me, and shot me four times; I fall down and drop the money, and ran up to No. 4 mine. I went down the track across the river. I walk up the track, and see good many China boys, about seventy or eighty. I walk up to the railroad section-house, knock at the door, and say, "Mr., you better open door and let me in." He say, "Who's that?" I say, "China boy." He open the door, and let me come into that house. I say, "I am nearly dead, I got nothing to eat." I ask him, "You give me some bread?" He say, "You got some bread." He say, "What's the matter at Rock Springs?" I say, "Lots trouble, drive China boys out." I sat down and took nip of water; took piece of bread and eat 'em; I feel much better; I say, "Mr., you let me have hand-car I go next station." He say, "I have no hand-car." In morning I started back. He say, "You better not go back to Rock Springs," and I went back to Evanston, and came back on the seventh of the month.

(Ah Kuhn had about sixteen hundred dollars in gold which he dropped when fired at. Remembering the spot where it was lost, he went there and looked for it on his return, but it had all been gathered up by the rioters.)

The statements of other Chinamen were received through an interpreter. They were substantially as follows:

LEO QARQWANG.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How long have you worked here in these mines?

Ans. Ten years.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Where were you on the day the Chinese quarters were burned?

Ans. I was working in No. 6 mine early in the morning, at four o'clock.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How long did you work there on that day?

Ans. I commenced working there at four o'clock in the morning on the second day of September, and worked until a little past seven o'clock in the morning.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How did you come to stop work then?

Ans. I was working from about four o'clock until about seven o'clock, when the white miners came in and commenced assaulting the Chinamen.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What occurred after the white miners came in? What did they do, and what did you do?

Ans. About seven o'clock that morning, while I was working in the mine, some white miners, numbering more than fourteen men, armed with shovels and spades and picks and tools, came in the room and asked, "What do you Chinamen mean by working here? You have no business to work here." I and the others told him, that "this room has been assigned to us by the boss foreman, and that is the reason why we are working here. We received orders to work here. We cannot help it, we received orders to work here; this room has been assigned to us." I also said, "We Chinamen do not want to have any trouble; if this room has not been assigned to us, we would leave here altogether." Soon after we finished talking this, the white miners commenced striking and beating us, and six of them surrounded me, and struck me on the head with a shovel.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Is that cut on your forehead the result of a blow?

Ans. Yes [a cut on left side of his forehead, about one-quarter of an inch deep]. In the mean time they were assaulting the other Chinamen one by one.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What happened after you left the mine?

Ans. I fell down when I received my wounds. While they were engaged in striking the other Chinamen, all the white miners blocked the mouth of the mine, and surrounded that place so Chinamen could not get out until the arrival of a pit-car ordered by white foreman.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How many Chinamen were there in this entry?

Ans. Four rooms, and two men in each.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What happened after pit-car came?

Ans. Afterwards the foreman in the coal-car took all the Chinamen out of the mine, and took them over near No. 6 mine.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Where did they go?

Ans. They went back to No. 6 mine, where there are some camps, some wooden buildings where the Chinamen live.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What happened after that?

Ans. As soon as they (Chinamen) arrived at No. 6 mine, they went into their own camps and sent for doctors to attend to the wounded men; and two of them were wounded so they could not move at all. They staid there until about nine o'clock, when they went to No. 3 mine where they had some medical treatment.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What happened after that?

Ans. We staid there until about three o'clock, when I saw a number of white miners, armed with rifles, divided into two parties; one was coming towards No. 3 mine, and the other party came by railroad section-house. They were firing on their way to the two directions when all the Chinamen were fleeing just like a flock of sheep, because none of us

were armed. We returned no fire against the white miners, as we had no arms.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What became of the wounded men who were under medical treatment?

Ans. I had to take care of myself, and was fleeing and running at the time, and could not notice whether the wounded men were running or not. I saw none of them since the attack until now. I have only seen one of them since.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you see any men killed by these shots?

Ans. I did not notice, because I was running at that time.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you hear the shots fired?

Ans. Yes, I heard the shots firing.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What did you do yourself? Where did you go?

Ans. I ran across the hills, and lost my road. I did not know where I was going until several days afterwards, when I found the railway, and got on the train and went back to Green River.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Were you alone, or were there others with you?

Ans. At first when we started running I saw some others running together; a little while afterwards I missed the others, and could not see where they went to.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Do you know how many there were in these two parties with rifles who attacked the camp?

Ans. I noticed most of them had rifles at that time.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How many?

Ans. I should say over a hundred of them had rifles.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How many were there who did not have rifles?

Ans. I am not sure; I should judge, sixty or seventy.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did they go to the houses of the Chinese before they left?

Ans. They came right close to the houses, almost right in, when the Chinamen ran away.

Gov Dir. SAVAGE. Did the Chinamen who ran away take any thing with them?

Ans. I saw no Chinamen take any thing with them, because they had no time to take any thing.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How did you live when you were in the mountains during these several days?

Ans. I had nothing to eat; I was almost half-starved.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How many days were you in the desert?

Ans. I ran away on the 2d, and was there until the evening of the 6th of September.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you see any Chinamen during these four days?

Ans. I only met one Chinaman, who was on a ranch. I was staying

at Green River on the night of the 6th, and next morning I started by train, and went back to Evanston.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Do you recognize or know any of the white men whom you saw attacking the Chinese?

Ans. I cannot identify any of them.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Could you recognize the men who came to your room in No. 5 entry, and ordered you away?

Ans. I think I can only recognize one of them.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Can you give the name of the man whom you do recognize?

Ans. His name is George; and the other one who struck my fellow-workman, his name is Isaiah. The boss foreman assigned two rooms to the Chinamen in No. 5 entry. We did not work in his room; we worked in No. 2 and No. 3 rooms.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Which room were you driven out of?

Ans. From No. 2 room.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Did you work the day before the assault?

Ans. We worked in No. 2 the day before, about two hours.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Had anybody worked in No. 3 room the day before?

Ans. We did the day before.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Who worked in No. 1 room the day before?

Ans. No Chinamen worked in No. 1 room. Chinamen worked in No. 4 room.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Had any work been done in any of these rooms before the Chinamen went in?

Ans. No. 2, 3, and 4 rooms are all new rooms, and had all been assigned to Chinamen. No white men ever worked in these rooms.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Did Isaiah or George ever work in No. 1?

Ans. Isaiah and his partner worked in No. 1, and tried to quarrel with us to get No. 2 room.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Were any of the rooms beyond No. 4 worked by white men at that time?

Ans. Chinamen also worked in No. 5 room; no white miners worked in this No. 5.

LEE FANG.

About three o'clock on the 2d inst. I saw a number of white men, amongst whom there was a white woman, about forty yards away, coming in different directions towards the Chinese buildings, and commenced shooting at the Chinamen. I saw with my own eyes two Chinamen shot dead by three firings in succession. They fired three shots, and two Chinamen were killed on the spot. They dropped dead near the bank of the creek.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Were none of the men in the mines at this time of the day?

Ans. Some of them were in the mines, and some were in the buildings.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you see this woman fire any shots?

Ans. I am convinced the same woman got to firing; these were the shots that killed the two Chinamen. They were killed with a revolver.

Gov. Dir SAVAGE. How near was she to the men?

Ans. Close to the door of her own house, when Chinamen were running past for safety.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Do you know where this house is where this woman stood?

Ans. I do not remember quite distinctly about the house, but it is a house near the bridge. It is the house close to the bridge on the left-hand side.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Could you recognize the woman?

Ans. I could recognize the woman if I see her again.

LEO MAUWIK.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. State what you know about the shooting of the Chinese, and the burning of their places, on the 2d of September.

Ans. I commenced working in No. 6 mine, on the morning of the 2d inst., until nine o'clock. About three o'clock in the afternoon I saw a number of white men armed with rifles, coming in different directions, attacking the Chinamen.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What entry were you working in, in No. 6 mine?

Ans. I was working in No. 4 room in No. 5 entry.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How did the trouble start?

Ans. At about seven o'clock that morning, I saw a number of white men coming into the entry, numbering about ten men altogether, and they asked why we occupied these rooms; they said, "We work in these rooms; you have no business to work here." I said, "These rooms have been assigned to us by the order of the boss foreman." They took up their shovels, and struck the Chinamen.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Had the white men been working before in any of the rooms where Chinamen were then working?

Ans. None, except in No. 1, had ever been worked by white men. The white men only worked in No. 1 room.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Which room is it they were trying to turn you out of?

Ans. I was driven out of No. 4.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. At three o'clock when you saw the white men coming down, what did you do?

Ans. At that time I was in No. 27 camp (Chinese quarters). I saw

the white men coming in different directions with rifles; I was in camp at the time. One of the parties came over to my camp, and asked me if I hadn't better come out, or they would kill us. I came out, and directly I came out they commenced firing shots.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. At whom were they firing?

Ans. They were shooting at Chinamen in the camps.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What did you do?

Ans. I was so frightened I tried to run away, and when I was running I was shot with a rifle through the right arm.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you see the man who fired the shot?

Ans. I saw a great many firing, but cannot say which one shot me

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How many shots were probably fired?

Ans. They were firing in succession at the time; I could not say how many.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you see any one killed?

Ans. I was so frightened at the time that I could not notice any one killed.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Where did you go?

Ans. I went as far as Green River that day, after running all the time until four o'clock in the morning. I got to Green River the next morning; from Green River I went to Evanston.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Do you know the men with whom you had the difficulty in the mine at seven o'clock in the morning? Could you recognize them?

Ans. No, sir; I cannot recognize any one, because I did not work there very long.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Do you know whether any of these rooms in No. 5 entry that were worked by Chinamen, were started originally by the white miners?

Ans. I know none of these new rooms have ever been assigned to the white miners, but to the Chinamen, except No. 1 room. There never were white miners working there before.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. How many days had you worked in the rooms in No. 5 entry?

Ans. I only worked a day and a half, because these were new rooms.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Did the white miners commence in No. 1 room at the same time that you commenced in these?

Ans. Yes, sir; almost the same time. They commenced the same day.

Gov. Dir. HANNA. Do you know the white men working in No. 1?

Ans. No, sir; I don't know any of them.

LEE SHIK.

I am a miner in No. 3 mine, and live in 26 camp. I did not go to work that day (Sept. 2); but I saw about nine o'clock a number of white miners carrying rifles, go toward the bridge, and have a meeting there; and up to a little past three o'clock they came in different directions, and commenced attacking and shooting the Chinamen. I saw a number of the white miners carrying revolvers, who commenced firing at the Chinamen from about fifty yards of the Chinese buildings; and after they commenced firing volley upon volley, the Chinamen commenced running away, and as soon as the Chinamen commenced running away they set fire upon the buildings where a great many Chinamen lived, which resulted in a great loss of money and property. In the mean time I saw the white miners shooting some in the arms and back; and these wounded men now lie at Evanston for medical treatment. I also saw another Chinaman wounded; he was shot in the head; he walked a few paces, and fell down dead. Although I did not see any more shot, I judge a great many more were killed by the shots at the time, and some of them burned to death. I saw a great many Chinamen running in different directions for safety; and as far as I know some of them are missing, and have not returned yet. They may have died from starvation. This was an unpremeditated attack upon these Chinese; they returned no shots against these rioters. I believe they were all miners of this place implicated.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Can you recognize any of them?

Ans. I could not recognize any of them, as I was so many yards from the place.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you expect any attack from the miners before it actually occurred?

Ans. No, I did not expect it.

YOU KWONG.

A little past three o'clock on the 2d inst., I saw a number of white men armed with rifles, coming from different directions towards the Chinese buildings, and commenced firing at these Chinese, and then the Chinamen ran in every direction; and after that I saw them set fire on the buildings. The Chinamen were so frightened at that time that they ran away in all directions. I also ran away too; but I know almost none of them took any thing with them when they ran away, because they had not time to take any thing with them; and they left every thing in the buildings. I believe there was a great loss of property and money. After I came back, in a few days, I saw a number of dead bodies of Chinamen.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Did you see any killed?

Ans. I did not see any of them shot.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How long were you out in the hills?

Ans. I commenced running through the hills since four o'clock that day until the 4th, when I got back to Evanston.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. What did you have to eat in the mean time?

Ans. I had only one meal when I was on Miller's ranch.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. How many were with you on this flight?

Ans. Five men with me, and afterwards they all disappeared.

Gov. Dir. SAVAGE. Was it customary for miners to keep their money with them as they made their wages monthly?

Ans. They keep their money in their own camps. I had forty dollars kept in my trunk, and some other clothes and property in the cellar, which was all burned out and lost.

To these accounts of the outbreak, and the attendant circumstances, little remains to be added. The purpose of this paper has been to place these narratives on record, and to add to them a chronological statement of the relations of the company with its employes at Rock Springs, in such a way as to throw all the light possible upon the transaction of Sept. 2, and the causes that led up to it.

The sequel of the affair, the steps taken by the company to regain possession and control of its property, the attitude towards it of the miners, the efforts made to induce its employes in other departments to make common cause with the Rock Springs assassins, remain to be referred to.

At the close of the day of Sept. 2, Rock Springs was in control of a mob. The company's property had been burned, between forty and fifty of its employes had been killed, and a large number more driven into the desert; others of its officers and employes had been forced to leave the place in terror of their lives. The Union Pacific had been thrown out of possession of the coal-mines upon which it depended largely for the means of continuing the movement of its trains; and the officers of the law in Sweetwater County confessed themselves powerless either to initiate proceedings for the punishment of the crimes, or to restore to the company the control of its property. The Governor of the Territory, when appealed to for assistance, could only answer that the Territorial authorities of themselves, being

without organized military, were equally helpless, and that the sole dependence was upon the Federal Government; to which, through proper channels, representations of the existing state of affairs were promptly made, accompanied by a call for troops.

Technical questions concerning the construction of the law known as the "posse comitatus act" of 1878 delayed decisive action; but on Saturday, the 5th, detachments from garrisons nearest the scene arrived at Rock Springs and Evanston, and went into camp. Until this protection was secured, the company could do nothing more than send out relief trains to gather up the terror-stricken survivors of the massacre, who were wandering along the line of the road for miles in either direction. For this work of mere humanity, the "soulless" corporation did not escape scathing censure.

The difficulties experienced in getting troops ordered to the scene of riot, and subsequently in securing instructions to those in command from the War Department, necessary to make them available for the protection of life and defence of property in the event of a renewal of the disturbance, will more clearly appear from the following telegrams received and transmitted between Sept. 3 and Sept. 9.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 3, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

One hundred armed men have driven all Chinese from Rock Springs, killing one and injuring child; have burned the houses. Governor Warren is asking for troops to suppress riot, and requests that you communicate with President. They will will not permit Chinese to return; also notified Evans, coal department engineer, to leave town, and, like our friend S. T. Smith, he went.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

BOSTON, MASS., Sept. 3, 1885.

S. R CALLAWAY, Omaha, Neb.

Your message received. Have applied to the Secretary of War in support of Governor Warren's request. Keep me advised of any new developments.

CHARLES F. ADAMS, JUN.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 3, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN, Boston, Mass.

The people of Rock Springs are well armed, and will not allow any of the Chinese to return. There are about six hundred of them scattered through the Territory. Governor Warren is now at Rock Springs with Superintendent Dickinson. He suggests our taking Chinese to Evanston in the mean time, so that they can be fed. The local authorities are wholly powerless, and the city is in the hands of a mob.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 3, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

Since telegraphing you this morning, bodies of fourteen dead Chinese have been found at Rock Springs. Superintendent there wires supposition that as many more have been killed.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 3, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN, Boston, Mass.

Latest advices from Rock Springs give fifteen killed, and expected many additional in ruins. One hundred houses burned, fifty of which belong to the company. Governor Warren at Rock Springs, and has telegraphed President Cleveland for assistance. Every thing reported quiet now.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 4, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

Tisdel, superintendent, has been obliged to leave Rock Springs. There is evidently a movement under the protection of the Knights of Labor to prevent company from employing any Chinese. Dickinson thinks we had better close all the mines, but I fear this would result in spreading the trouble to shops and cause further destruction of property. We should know quick as possible if we are to have any protection from United States Government. Coroner's jury have found that murdered Chinese came to their deaths by causes unknown.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 4, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

General Howard has not yet received any instructions from Washington. Miners at Rock Springs have just broken into Beckwith, Quinn, & Co's. large powder-house there. It is reported they are organizing at Evanston to drive Chinese out of town there. Unless prompt action is

taken by the United States Government, there will likely be further loss of life and property.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

BOSTON, MASS., Sept. 4, 1885.

S. R. CALLAWAY, Omaha, Neb.

How will Rock Springs affair affect your contracts for coal delivery? Yield nothing to the rioters. Call on the Government to preserve the peace, and, if necessary, arrange to have coal from Council Bluffs, Denver, and Salt Lake.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 4, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

Operations at Rock Springs almost entirely suspended. Cannot form any estimate of our ability to carry out coal contracts until we know what General Government purpose doing. At present, our property is in the hands of mob, and our officers have been obliged to leave town.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 4, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

Chinese at Grass Creek mine have been given twenty minutes to leave the town. It is expected the same order will be given at Evanston to-night. General Howard has just received orders to send four companies troops to Rock Springs to protect United States mail. They will leave to-night.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 4, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

General Howard has just received the following from Governor Warren: viz., "Rock Springs, 4th. I fear further trouble all along line. Armed men still keep Chinese out of town. Sheriff at Evanston mine telegraphs he believes outrage of yesterday at Rock Springs will be repeated there unless civil authority strengthened by troops. I wired President and Secretary of War during night. What instructions have you regarding my request?" General has replied, "No orders received from Washington."

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 5, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, Boston, Mass.

Governor Warren telegraphed the President yesterday as follows:— "Evanston, Wyoming, 4th. Unlawful combination and conspiracies exist among coal-miners and others in Uintah and Sweetwater Counties, in

this Territory, which prevent individuals and corporations from enjoyment and protection of their property, and obstructs execution of the law. Open insurrection at Rock Springs; property burned; sixteen dead bodies found; probably over fifty more under ruins. Seven hundred Chinamen driven from town, and have taken refuge at Evanston, and are ordered to leave there. Sheriff powerless to make necessary arrests and protect life and property, unless supported by organized bodies of armed men. Wyoming has no territorial militia; therefore I respectfully and earnestly request the aid of United States troops, not only to protect the mails and mail routes, but that they may be instructed to support civil authorities until order is restored, criminals arrested, and the suffering relieved."

I believe he has since telegraphed that legislature is not in session, and cannot be convened in time to meet the emergency. Will you please say in what it is defective? The situation is alarming, and vigorous measures should be taken to restore peace and order. Answer.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, Sept. 5, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

There are now about eighty soldiers at Rock Springs, and eighty at Evanston. Thus far Governor Warren has been unable to get any orders from Washington to protect any thing but United-States mail. I, therefore, have thought it not best to allow any of the superintendents at mines or Chinese to return to Rock Springs. The miners now demand increase of thirty cents per ton for mining.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 5, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

Thus far troops have orders only to protect United-States mails. Governor Warren telegraphs, asking us to represent to Secretary of War that our company cannot enjoy use and protection of property, unless troops will assist civil authority in making arrests to enable us to weed out all dangerous criminals and agitators, and provide protection for reasonable employes. Am now informed that they intend proceeding against the Mormons, and clean out all Mormon miners, because they will not join the Knights of Labor. As soon as we can get promise of protection from Governor, I propose putting all men back to work that will go, and discharge the ringleaders. Before taking this action, however, I want assurance that we will be protected by troops. It is quite likely that it will result in a general strike of Knights of Labor along the road. There are over a hundred Chinese missing, majority of whom are supposed to have been massacred.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 6, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

Report (eight o'clock) miners have notified Beckwith if he did not clean out all Chinese at Evanston within three days, they would shoot him. They claim to be five hundred strong, and to mean business. Unless some vigorous action is taken at once, I fear serious trouble will occur. No further instructions have yet been received from Washington.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 7, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

Although there is great excitement, there is no outbreak as yet. The men at Rock Springs demand dollar per ton where seventy cents heretofore has been paid. We have received no assurances yet of protection; consequently neither the superintendent who was ordered away by the mob, nor the Chinese, will return to Rock Springs.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

BOSTON, MASS., Sept. 7, 1885.

S. R. CALLAWAY, Omaha, Neb.

Mr. Bromley will leave for Omaha to-day to investigate, and formally report to the directors on the recent massacres. Government Director Alexander will follow on Wednesday. We wish to proceed with deliberation in this matter, but no concession is to be made to the rioters. You must decline even to discuss matters with them until peace is restored. No increase of pay for mining can be considered.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 7, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

Following just received from Dickinson: "2 P.M. Governor Warren not heard from Washington. Nothing can be done without protection, unless it be to stop mines. The miners have just had another meeting, and say Chinese must go at once. Committee now on way to notify Beckwith Chinese all notified last night that if they entered mines to-day, not one would come out alive."

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept 7, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

Governor Warren has telegraphed President from Evanston as follows: "Referring to my several late telegrams, I respectfully submit that the unlawful organized mob in possession of coal-mines at Almy, near here, will not permit Chinamen to approach their own homes, property, or employment. From the nature of outbreak, sheriff of county

cannot rally sufficient posse, and Territorial government cannot sufficiently aid him. Insurrectionists know, through newspapers and despatches, that troops will not interfere under present orders; and moral effect of presence of troops is destroyed. If troops were known to have orders to assist the sheriff's posse in case driven back, I am quite sure civil authorities could restore order without actual use of soldiers. But, unless United States Government can find way to relieve us immediately, I believe worse scenes than those at Rock Springs will follow, and all Chinamen driven from the Territory. I beg an early reply, and information regarding the attitude of the United States Government."

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 7, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

Notice served on all Chinese at Almy not to enter mines, or they would be fired upon. Beckwith has notice to pay off all Chinese and get them out of town, and avoid trouble. Chinese scared, and will not go to work either on track or mines. Dickinson wires, "Generally understood troops will do nothing unless mail is interfered with."

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 8, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

Have given orders to close down all mines at Almy, leave sufficient force there to protect property, and take all men who will go back to Rock Springs, install them, and then pay off all men who have in any manner participated in the riot. Special train is now running with large force troops from Winship, and will reach Evanston to-night.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 8, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

A committee composed of some of the miners and merchants of Rock Springs asked for interview with me. Please say quick if you approve following reply; if not, what course would you suggest? viz.: "I understand the object of your committee's visit to be the presentation of some grievances against officers coal department. As soon as the control and management of this company's property has been restored to it by Territorial or Federal authority, I will be glad to meet and discuss the matter with you. Until then it seems to me a conference can be productive of no beneficial results."

S. R. CALLAWAY.

BOSTON, MASS., Sept. 8, 1885.

S. R. CALLAWAY, Omaha, Neb.

I approve of your answer. These men represent felons. We cannot deal with them in any way until order is restored. Exercise great discretion, but be perfectly firm. Our grievances against those this committee represent are infinitely greater than any grievances they can ever represent against us or our officers.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 8, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN., Boston, Mass.

Orders have just been received at army headquarters here from the President to protect the Chinese at all hazards. Sufficient United States troops will be moved there by Wednesday morning to do this.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 9, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, JUN, Boston, Mass.

Two hundred and fifty soldiers and six hundred and six Chinamen now on their way to Rock Springs. Will arrive there to-night.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

On the 9th of September, therefore, exactly one week after the outbreak took place, the company was put in a position where it could begin to see its way to the re-occupation of its property, and the restoration of its employes to the places whence they had been driven. It was ordered that the mails should be protected in actual transmission under Federal laws, and that the Chinese should be protected "at all hazards" under the treaty provisions. But this was hardly more than a preliminary step. So far as working the mines was concerned, the situation was still full of difficulties. Not only were such Chinese as had been brought back timid about re-entering the mines, but it was understood, that, upon the first attempt to resume work with Chinese miners, those employed as engineers, top-men, etc., would stop work, and not improbably a general strike of the employes in all departments would take place. Mr. Thomas Neasham, chairman of the organization of employes of the company, had diligently devoted himself, from the beginning of the trouble,

to the task of bringing this result about. His first appearance had been in connection with the committee of miners and citizens of Rock Springs, at the hearing before Mr. Bromley. Mr. Neasham's attitude at this time was unmistakably hostile to the company. Indeed, his sympathy with those concerned in the outrage of Sept. 2 was so undisguised, and appeared so clearly both in his conduct at the first hearing and in violent expressions in interviews which he took pains to have published and widely circulated, that the embarrassment of the company in dealing with the situation was greatly enhanced.

Moreover, it was felt that if the fact should become generally known that the military authorities construed their instructions so strictly that they could not interfere except in case of attack upon the Chinese, or actual obstruction of the mails, mischievous consequences might ensue. Shortly after his arrival at Rock Springs on the 15th, Mr. Bromley learned from the officer in command that this was the construction put upon the orders under which he was acting. A few hours later the commanding officer informed Mr. Bromley that instructions had been received from headquarters at Omaha to protect the mines and the property of the company, so that the coal-supply could be maintained and the line kept open.

The proposition of the "committee," that all the white miners be re-instated, and the Chinese kept out until the matter had been investigated, having been declined on the 17th, it was reported that all the miners and mine engineers at Rock Springs and Almy, as well as the carpenters engaged in rebuilding the company's houses at Rock Springs, had stopped work under orders from Mr. Neasham. On the 18th the following telegrams were exchanged between the Boston and Omaha offices: —

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 18, 1885.

C. F. ADAMS, Jun., Boston, Mass.

Orders have been issued from Denver to all carpenters and other men at mines to stop work. I do not want to force a fight, but it seems to

me we should dismiss every man who obeys this order. I have asked Government Directors who are on the ground, for their judgment. Will you kindly let me have yours? If we must have trouble, I know of no better time or issue to have it upon.

S. R. CALLAWAY.

BOSTON, MASS., Sept. 18, 1885.

S R. CALLAWAY, Omaha, Neb.

We here think you too timid. The point suggested does not admit of a moment's consideration. Dismiss every man who stops work on order from Denver. In case of a general strike at any mine, close the mine, and do not open it until you get orders from here.

CHARLES F. ADAMS, JUN.

On the same day, the Government Directors, having heard the statements of the committee of citizens and miners, and looked over the whole situation, forwarded the following telegram to the Secretary of the Interior at Washington: —

The undersigned, Government Directors of the Union Pacific Railway, pursuant to law, report that we have made investigations upon the spot into the alleged outrages recently occurring at this place. We find such a condition of affairs as in our opinion endangers the property of the road, jeopardizes the interest of the Government, and calls for prompt interference. We therefore deem it important that full authority should be given the proper officers to afford ample assistance to the managers in their efforts to protect the property of the company, and conduct the business of the road.

The next day (Sept. 19), copies of the following notice were handed to all the white miners at Rock Springs.

NOTICE.

[Copy of Telegram.]

OMAHA, Sept. 19, 1885.

D. O. CLARK.

This Company desires to resume the operation of its coal-mines at Rock Springs at the earliest possible moment. You will be good enough to notify all concerned that such of the striking miners and other employes who have not been dismissed can have work at their places upon Monday morning next. All persons not then at work will be paid off, and notice given that they must not again be employed in any capacity in the service of this company.

(Signed) S. R. CALLAWAY,
General Manager Union Pacific Railway.

UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY, COAL DEPARTMENT,
ROCK SPRINGS, WYO., Sept. 19, 1885.

Notice is hereby given that work will be resumed in mines Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 5, on Monday morning, Sept. 21, at seven o'clock. All miners and other employes are expected to return to their places at that time, with the assurance that they will receive while at work, and at their homes, such protection from the civil and military authorities as will insure their personal safety.

D. O. CLARK,
General Superintendent Coal Department.

On Monday the 21st, in accordance with the terms of the above notice, an effort was made to resume work in the mines. The stoppage of the usual output of coal had already been the cause of much damage, not only to the company, but to a great number of business interests along the line, and the men employed in them. An illustration of this is found in the following extract from an article in "The Laramie Sentinel" of Sept. 12:—

The riot at Rock Springs cut off the supply of coal here; and as a consequence the rolling mills are shut down, and several Knights of Labor are thrown out of employment by it. These fifty men — more or less — are each four or five dollars a day out of pocket for an indefinite time by this enforced idleness. Saturday last an order for bolts, spikes, fish-plates, etc., to lay four thousand tons of rails, which had been given to the mill here, was countermanded, because Mr. Scrymser was obliged to telegraph the contractors that he was delayed in filling the order for want of coal. He informed us that he feared several large orders would be cancelled for the same reason. Thus, because it was to the interest of the Knights of Labor of Rock Springs to get rid of the Chinamen there, the Knights of Labor here will very likely be thrown out of work half the winter. And the effect of such an act ramifies through all departments of business. The freighting of thousands of tons of iron is lost to the Union Pacific Company; and consequently it will not have employment for so many men, and thus several Knights of Labor will lose their jobs. The thousands of dollars which all these men would have earned if they had not been thrown out of employment would have gone into trade here, and elsewhere helped to make good times.

The result of the first attempt to resume was, that about a hundred of the returned Chinamen, in a timid and hesitat-

ing way, not knowing what might be the consequences, went into the mines, and began work; but nearly all the white men, whose services in one capacity and another at the top and elsewhere were necessary in order to get the coal weighed and placed in cars for transportation, refused to resume. It became necessary to supply their places, and measures were accordingly taken to bring white miners at once from Utah and elsewhere. These were mostly Mormons, and no less objectionable than the Chinese to the men who had been concerned in the outbreak of Sept. 2, and who were now waiting to reap the fruits of it.

While the effort to resume work was in progress, certain of the members of the citizens' committee were actively engaged in a counter effort to keep the mines closed until the demands of the strikers were complied with. On the 20th a miner named Dunn, who was apparently suspected of lukewarmness in the cause, was ordered to leave town within twenty-four hours. He made the following statement:—

I was called upon by two miners, who waved their hands at me to come and speak to them. I went down the walk with them, and they asked me how I would like to be ordered out of the town in twenty-four hours. I said, "I am getting sick of the whole affair, and do not care how soon I go."—"Well," he says, "the orders are that you are to leave this camp within twenty-four hours."—"What is that?" I said. "You are to leave this camp in twenty-four hours." Says I, "What for?" He says, "You are not a workingman, and you are of no use in this camp: you have to go." I says, "I believe you are mistaken, I am a workingman; more than that, I have been the workingman's friend all my life." He says, "That is all right; I spoke to you in friendship, and you have to go. You belong to the company, and it is through you a lot of our troubles have arisen." Of course I only laughed at this. He says, "In twenty-four hours," and away they went. About two hours afterwards I was reading the newspaper in the house where I stop, when in came again the first man; he comes up to me and says, "You and I have had some conversation to-day, and you know what it is about." I says, "Yes."—"Well," he says, "since I saw you I have seen several of my friends; and we have talked the matter over, and we have decided that you are to leave the camp in twenty-four hours, and don't you forget it." I took the man for a very sober man.

From the description given by Mr. Dunn, and other circumstances, it appeared that the person who was so active in this matter was Mr. Vowell of the citizens' committee. Subsequently it was reported that other members of the committee denied that Vowell had authority for his action.

At this juncture the interference of Mr. Neasham was again encountered, as will be seen by the following correspondence: —

DENVER, COL., Sept. 19, 1885.

TO GENERAL MANAGER AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Gentlemen, — We, the undersigned Executive Committee of Employes of the Union Pacific Railway, wish to submit for your consideration the accompanying report. We believe the matter contained in it materially affects our well-being, as well as the Company's interest.

Since the introduction of Chinese labor, great discontent has prevailed amongst all sections of your employes. On account of their being used for the upsetting of time-honored usages, and the introduction of what we believe to be insidious innovations on our rights and liberties, have unsettled our minds, and is preventing the due performance of our labor. The working of a great system like the Union Pacific Railroad cannot be recklessly tampered with, as has been done, without doing harm to all concerned; and we feel persuaded that as American citizens you would think us unworthy the name if we tamely submitted to the kind of treatment detailed in the accompanying report.

We respectfully submit that to adequately meet the case, the removal of the Chinese from the system, and the removal of Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., and D. O. Clark, from authority, is required. Nothing less, we believe, will suffice to prevent a repetition of the treatment, or beget that feeling which we believe to be essentially necessary to subsist between the company and their employes.

Further, if this request be complied with, we will help and assist the company to get good reliable white miners to fill the places of the Chinese, and do every thing that is just to help the company.

(Signed) THOMAS NEASHAM, *Chairman.*
J. N. CORBIN, *Secretary.*

REPORT.

We respectfully report that we are in possession of information that satisfies us, beyond a doubt, that the white miners at Rock Springs have been subjected to robbery and other ill-treatment at the hands of superintendent and mine bosses.

First, They have been robbed of their rights, by being turned out of their places in the mine, and Chinese put into the same.

Second, They have been made to work where Chinese would not work.

Third, Their places have been bought by Chinese, giving as far as one hundred dollars to the mine boss for the same.

Fourth, They have been robbed by false weights being used to weigh their coal.

Fifth, They have been discharged because they refused to vote for Mrs. Tisdel, for school superintendent.

Sixth, They have been compelled to buy their goods of Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., when they could have procured them cheaper elsewhere.

To tell all that white miners have been subjected to by the parties named in our letter, would take up too much of your time to read; and, knowing that you will get the evidence from another quarter, we can only add that we trust that you will give it your most earnest attention.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) COMMITTEE OF EMPLOYES.
THOMAS NEASHAM, *Chairman.*
J. N. CORBIN, *Secretary.*

The first four of the above specifications have been referred to already. Of the fact alleged in the fifth, there was no evidence whatever: it was denied by Mr. Tisdel, and when referred to in the course of the hearing of the Government Directors was contemptuously dismissed by Mr. Hoyt, the chairman of the committee, as of no consequence.

The only witness in support of the sixth specification was Mr. Chalice, who, according to his prepared statement, had been discharged four times, had often been compelled to run for his life from the Chinamen, and had been obliged to listen to them when they "referred to his mother in the most insulting terms." He had also been compelled to trade at Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.'s store. He neglected to say that he could have purchased cheaper elsewhere; Mr. Neasham supplied this omission. As to the sixth specification, it may be said, that it was squarely contradicted by Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.; and, with the exception of Chalice, there was no attempt to support it.

To the communication of the committee the following answer was returned:—

OMAHA, Sept. 22, 1885.

MR. THOMAS NEASHAM, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE UNION PACIFIC EMPLOYES, DENVER.

Dear Sir, — Your letter of Sept. 19 came duly to hand; and, as it was addressed to the president of the company as well as to me, it has been forwarded to the former gentleman at Boston.

You say that, "since the introduction of Chinese labor, great discontent has prevailed amongst all classes of your [our] employes." You seem to forget that during our numerous conferences no dissatisfaction was ever expressed on this account; and that at the last meeting with your chairman and some members of the Omaha committee, held in my office but a few days prior to the recent outbreak, gratification was expressed by them at the absence of any cause for complaint, and at the general harmony prevailing between the managers and other employes of the Company. I beg also to remind you that Chinese were employed long before labor difficulties of any kind were known upon the Union Pacific, and that their employment was resorted to originally, not from choice, but as an absolute necessity in maintaining the road-bed and keeping the coal-mines in operation.

The labor difficulties experienced by the Union Pacific Company prior to the recent outbreak have had no connection with, or relation to, the Chinese question, so far as known to me.

You prefer certain charges against the firm of Beckwith, Quinn, & Co., and Mr. D. O. Clark, the general superintendent of the Coal Department, and demand their removal. It is the policy and purpose of the present management to give earnest and patient investigation and consideration to specific charges made against any of its officers or employes; but it will demand proofs, and insist upon any party so accused having a fair opportunity to defend himself. In this particular case, it might also be well to bear in mind that these charges have been preferred by men at Rock Springs, who are attempting to justify to the American people a most atrocious massacre and wanton destruction of property.

You also demand the removal of the Chinese from the service. When the company can be assured against strikes and other outbreaks at the hands of persons who deny its owners the right to manage their property, it may consider the expediency of abandoning Chinese labor; but under all circumstances, and at any cost or hazard, it will assert its right to employ whom it pleases, and refuse to ostracize any one class of its employes at the dictation of another.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) S. R. CALLAWAY, *General Manager.*

Meantime, at Rock Springs, Col. F. A. Bee, the Chinese consul at San Franscisco, with Wong Sic Chin, the consul

at New York, with whom were Gen. A. D. McCook, and a member of his staff from Fort Douglas, were engaged in taking the testimony of the Chinese survivors of the massacre, to be laid before the Imperial Government. They pursued their investigations for several days without molestation. During that time Gen. McCook availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to study the situation, particularly as regarded the possibility of bringing to justice the perpetrators of the outrages. On the 20th he sent the following telegram to the Adjutant General of the Department of the Platte, at Omaha: —

I have been at Rock Springs since Thursday morning, 17th. Have paid careful attention to all passing occurrences at this point, and am fully convinced that any attempted trial and punishment by the civil authority, United States or Territorial, of the men who murdered the Chinese on the 2d of September, will prove a burlesque and farce in the name of law and justice. The men who committed the murders are aliens; their murdered victims are also aliens, but under treaty protection. Martial law should be declared in Sweetwater County, Wyoming, the murderers arrested and tried by military commission. The savage brutality displayed by the fiends who did the killing, the most serious conditions, present and future, surrounding the whole business, make it my duty to forward this recommendation, and respectfully cite as a precedent the captured offenders of the Modoc War.

The event of the trial more than justified Gen. McCook's prognostications.

The Governor of the Territory, while doing every thing in his power to enforce the laws and bring the offenders to justice, was obliged to confess from the beginning the hopelessness of the task. The state of public opinion on the subject was very clearly shown by the fact that the efforts made by Governor Warren to protect human life, and preserve the peace and order of the Territory, were openly denounced as evidence of his "Chinese sympathies."

The treatment of the accused persons has already been referred to in some of the foregoing extracts. Some sixteen arrests were made, the form of a preliminary trial was gone through, and the men were put under bonds to appear at the

next term of the Sweetwater County Court. "The burlesque and farce" foreshadowed by Gen. McCook began, it will be remembered, with the finding of a coroner's jury that the deceased came to their death at the hands of parties unknown. The proceedings of the grand jury of Sweetwater County, before whom the accused persons were presented for indictment, were still more remarkable as a travesty upon justice. A large number of witnesses were examined, but the testimony of only three was ever given to the public. These three were members of the Thirloway family, — the Rev. Mr. Thirloway, his wife and daughter. The testimony of these persons is so interesting a feature in the history of the case, that it is given here in full from the special correspondence of "The Cheyenne Sun."

Timothy Thirloway, being duly sworn, made the following statement: "My name is Timothy Thirloway; I am a minister of the gospel, and recently came to Green River to take care of the new Congregational church building here. I was residing at Rock Springs on the 2d of September last, the date on which the riot occurred, and in the vicinity of Chinatown. On that day I heard there was a large number of men moving around toward the north end of Chinatown, with guns, clubs, and other weapons of defence. I stepped out of my house with my wife, and saw the first two houses that were set on fire. While we were standing there, I could see a number of white men on the north side of Chinatown; and at the same time four Chinamen came out of a house on the south-east part of the town, and only a short distance from us. They were about two hundred yards from the white men. The four Chinamen had not moved more than twenty yards from the house with their bundles, when some one called them back; and they remained in the house two or three minutes before coming out again. In the mean time a volley was heard on the north side of Chinatown, and almost instantly the Chinamen rushed out of the building. They had hardly left when we saw the building was on fire. No white men were to be seen near the house, and it was my firm belief that the house was fired by the Chinamen themselves My daughter, who talked with some of the Chinamen afterwards, can tell you more about that, and the object of the Chinamen in setting their houses on fire. I am quite convinced that they were fired by the Chinamen, inasmuch as there were no white men on the ground. The two houses that were first burned belonged to the railroad company, and were known as Nos. 15 and 16. Among the Chinamen who came out of No. 16, the first house set on fire, I recognized Ah Quong.

Statement of Miss Eleanor Thirloway: "I am twenty-four years of age, and Timothy Thirloway is my father. I came to Rock Springs last December, and since February last have been giving instructions to the Chinese at my father's house in the evening, with the assistance of my sister. I think we had the confidence of the Chinese, who regarded us as their friends. Some of them came to us and asked for shelter during the trouble; but we thought they would not be safe, and advised them to leave the town as others were doing. Just as soon as they returned some of them came to see us and talked about their troubles. Ah Quong, who lived in the cellar of gang-house No. 16, which was the first house set on fire, told me that China boy was scared American boy would get things, and China boy set fire to the houses. He said that there was only one China woman in the town, and he took care of her during the riot. Lew Ack Sen, a nephew of Ah Say, the China interpreter, told me he had money under his bed, but when he came back it was all gone. He also told me the same facts about setting fire to the house as the other Chinamen, that they were afraid white men would find their money; and for that reason the Chinese set fire to the houses. Ah Quong said, 'China boy no likee American boy catch im things, and China boy set fire to houses.' Lew Ack Sen was in Evanston at the time of the riot, but returned to Rock Springs a few days afterwards He brought a note for me to read, which stated that he would represent Ah Say in the management of the Chinese, and was signed by D. O. Clark. I frequently wrote notes for the Chinese, and in his case made a request for a pass when he went to Evanston. He was disposed to be very friendly, and no doubt most of the Chinese think we have left Rock Springs because we are afraid of the miners."

Mrs. Eleanor Thirloway makes substantially the same statement as her husband: "I was out on the 2d of September, and saw some of the occurrences there at Rock Springs. I went with Mr. Thirloway to the place where he stood a little way from Chinatown. I saw four Chinamen with their blankets come out of the company's house No. 16, and some one call them back. They went into the house, but soon came out again; and almost immediately we could see smoke coming out of the door of the house. In a few seconds flames burst out of the top of the house like the explosion of a keg of gunpowder — it went into the air like powder. There were no white men near the house at the time, and I firmly believe the Chinamen set fire to it themselves. I said to one of them afterwards, 'Were you not afraid, if you set fire to your houses, your things would get burned?' He said, 'We put money under the road [meaning the ground] and it could not get burned.' Most of the Chinamen who live in dug-outs have dirt floors. No. 16 was the first house I saw burning, and then No. 15; soon after that plenty were to be seen burning."

This remarkable testimony of the Thirloway family was variously commented upon by the press of the Territory. "The Rock Springs Independent," which was opposed to the Chinese miners, had the candor to say,—

We see that a large number of papers attach undue importance to the testimony of Mr. Thirloway at Green River. They seem to think that this evidence shows that the Chinese burned all their own houses, and were guilty of taking the lives of those of their countrymen who were burned. Any thing more absurd than this could not be imagined by those who were actual eye-witnesses of the occurrences. While it may be possible that one or two houses were fired by the Chinese, as Mr. Thirloway testifies, this does not prove that any more were burned by them. But men quite as trustworthy as Mr. Thirloway, and who were with him at the time these houses were set on fire, assure us that it would be impossible to know that the Chinese did fire them, as the white men were all around and in the houses at the time.

When John Lewis says, in "The Labor Inquirer," that the Chinese themselves are guilty, and will probably be indicted for arson and murdering their own countrymen, he is telling what he must know is not the truth. If the cause of the miners requires such misrepresentation as this to gain sympathy and support, it must be a very weak cause indeed. But we believe no good can come from such misrepresentation, and those who circulate such self-evident falsehoods as these are in reality injuring the cause they pretend to support.

"The Cheyenne Sun," on the other hand, held that the Thirloway testimony was conclusive as to the whole affair. It said: —

Owing to the inaccuracy of all reports, except the first, briefly announcing the occurrence of the riot at Rock Springs, the press of the country yesterday contained the first unbiassed and unmanufactured presentation of facts through the Associated Press concerning the cause leading thereto and the actual circumstances of it. This has not been the fault of the Associated Press, nor in great part of the agent at Cheyenne, but of the railroad officials and interested parties who were telling untruths over the wires from Rock Springs. These men have endeavored to send throughout the United States erroneous statements, which have made it out that all the white miners at Rock Springs were equally guilty of the deeds of violence, and that the Territory of Wyoming was responsible for the acts of a handful of men at Rock Springs. It will be learned by this great and glorious and liberty-loving country, when the true facts are presented to them, that instead of the white miners as a

class being responsible for the wrongs done at Rock Springs, only a few men, who were totally irresponsible, — such men as can be seen congregated in front of certain saloons on Seventeenth Street in this city, and who will not work if they have a chance, and who would always aid disturbance, that they may rob and steal, — that a handful of such men committed the real crime on the 2d of September in Rock Springs; that the Chinamen fired their own buildings; and that the white miners only wanted to, and attempted to, drive the Chinamen out. For the actual commission of the crimes that have been charged to the white miners, they were not responsible, nor of those crimes were they guilty. The responsibility rests with the Union Pacific Railway Company, and the crimes were committed by the loafers and the Chinese.

The failure of the grand jury of Sweetwater County to find a single one of the sixteen men under arrest liable to be guilty, not even probable cause for holding them in custody being established, although nearly thirty witnesses were examined, — this failure substantiates the truth of the allegation "The Sun" now makes after the investigation, as even it made it before. The white miners are exonerated both before the law and in the eyes of the public; and the Union Pacific Company, the thieves and loafers whom it allowed to hang around in Rock Springs, and its Chinese pets, are justly placed under the gravest suspicion.

This paper consistently accepted its own logic, and insisted that "if we have laws, they should be enforced" against the Chinamen who had burned their own houses, and killed themselves. This is its conclusion: —

The fear of what will be said of us has been a great bugbear in this Rock Springs business, but it is to be hoped that it will not deter the officers of the Sweetwater-county court from doing their whole duty. The evidence that was submitted to the grand jury was certainly sufficient to cause the bringing-in of a "true bill" against Ah Quong and others for arson, if not for causing the loss of coolies' lives. If we have laws, they should be enforced. John is a natural fire-bug, and on several occasions has started fires in Cheyenne that threatened its destruction. If any thing goes wrong with him, he resorts to an illumination; and he has so little to lose, that he evidently enjoys it. . . .

The Union Pacific may have to see its pet Chinamen upon the gallows it erected for the white miners. Thus history may repeat itself.

Much stress was laid upon the circumstance that Mr. Thirloway was a "minister of the gospel," and that his family had the confidence of the Chinese, who, as Miss Thirloway says, came to them during the trouble, and asked for

shelter. But the lady adds, "We thought they would not be safe, and advised them to leave town as others were doing." For hundreds of miles around Rock Springs there is nothing but a barren desert. Leaving town meant starvation in those inhospitable wastes.

It was the good fortune of some of this unfortunate race that there resided at Green River, where she held the position of superintendent of the Pacific Hotel Company's establishment, — a woman of somewhat different mettle, who, when asked for shelter, did not advise the applicants to leave town, because she "thought they would not be safe." Immediately following the outbreak at Rock Springs, she was informed that she must dismiss the Chinamen employed in domestic service in the house. She says in her letter, giving an account of the transaction: —

I told one and all that the boys should stay, and I would protect them. Thursday night I had a man watch the house outside. Friday morning a China boy came into the lunch-room, and asked for Jim, our pastry-cook, and told him that a shoemaker had been down there, and told him all must leave; and he had come up to warn my boys. I told the man to stay, and not leave for any one, and told my boys I would protect them if they staid. They were like a lot of children, and believed and obeyed as such. I at once sent Mr. Judges to see the man, and instructed him to find out who had authorized him to tell them they must leave. He said the Knights of Labor, and the people said so. I at noon told several of the railroad men, who are Knights, what had been done, and sent for the Knight in charge here, and I guess talked, for he afterwards said he thought a cyclone had struck him. He said he had not authorized any one to send them away, and was sorry such had been done. He assured me that if there was such action on the part of the order, they would give me a week's notice. I told him I would not receive such notice, and they should stay, and we would protect them. He said the only thing they would do would be to boycott the house. I told him, that, while we should regret such an affair, we would still run the house. Many came in to talk of it (sent I felt sure); and to one and all I said that I did not mean to allow any one to run this house, and that I would keep the boys. Had we given up, and sent the boys away, they would have sent all in town out; but when it was known that we did not intend to have any nonsense, they gave in.

Wednesday evening, one of the men that chased the Chinamen came

into the office and sat down. He was half drunk and ugly. I staid inside the office, but was called out for a minute, and when I came back found him in the dining-room going out in the back part of the house. I asked him what he wanted, and he said he was just looking round. I took him by the shoulder, and told him to look round outside, and walked him out of doors. The crowd were outside waiting for him, but I guess thought best to leave. I was so mad that I felt as big as any other man.

As was expected, the grand jury failed to find a true bill against the accused persons. The facts of the murders and outrages being too notorious to be disputed, the grand jury returned the following finding, putting the chief responsibility for the outbreak upon the railway company and its officers: —

We, the grand jurors empanelled in and for said county at the September, 1885, term of the third district court, would respectfully report that we have examined into all offences that have been brought to our attention, or are within our knowledge, and have presented bills of indictment where the evidence would warrant such finding. We have diligently inquired into the occurrence at Rock Springs on the second day of September last; and, though we have examined a large number of witnesses, no one has been able to testify to a single criminal act committed by any known white person on that day. Whatever crimes may have been committed there on the 2d of September, the perpetrators thereof have not been disclosed by the evidence before us; and therefore, while we deeply regret the circumstances, we are wholly unable, acting under the obligations of our oaths, to return indictments. We have also inquired into the causes that led to the outbreak at Rock Springs. While we find no excuse for the crimes committed, there appears to be no doubt abuses existed there that should have been promptly adjusted by the railroad company and its officers. If this had been done, the fair name of our Territory would not have been stained by the terrible events of the 2d of September.

At a large public meeting subsequently held at Rawlins, Mr. H. C. Brown of Laramie, the lawyer retained on behalf of the accused, was reported in the papers as saying, —

He had been counsel for the miners in the recent trial of sixteen of their number at Green River, charged by the railroad company with the commission of almost every crime known under the statute, and knew more than any other man could possibly know of the incidents of Sept. 2. Of the four Chinamen shot he could state, without violating any

legal confidence, that a woman with a child on one arm dealt death from a revolver to two of them, and that the other two were killed by men now outside of the boundaries of the United States. He explained fully the fight in the mine, the process of warning the heathen to leave, and the firing of their huts by themselves, all of which was proven before the grand jury, and resulted in the acquittal of the miners charged with multitudinous offences.

The report concludes as follows:—

Mr. Brown closed with an eloquent peroration, in which he urged on the good work of purifying the country of the blighting influence of monopoly and its attendant slavery, and predicted final success, though some earnest advocates would probably go down in the contest; for no great good was ever accomplished without some sacrifice. As for himself, he "had enlisted for the war," and would "fight it out on that line if it took all summer" and all he had.

That the "eloquent peroration" of Mr. Brown was not without results, appears from the passage of a series of resolutions, among them the following:—

Resolved, That we regard the occurrences at Rock Springs on the 2d of September, as a misfortune and disaster to be regretted by a law-abiding people but we charge the responsibility therefor upon the Union Pacific Railroad Company and its officers.

Resolved, That we commend the forbearance of the white miners at Rock Springs, in long submitting to unjust impositions heaped upon them by the Union Pacific Railroad officials, as well as the disposition manifested by them since the 2d of September to right their wrongs by lawful means.

Resolved, That we consider the presence of Federal bayonets at Rock Springs and Evanston not a necessity for the protection of either life or property, but a power wielded solely in the interest of a grasping corporation, to force a revolting system of slave-labor upon the country; and as a free people we protest against the use of the army for this unlawful purpose, and demand its discontinuance.

At a meeting at Green River, the county seat, at a date shortly prior to the above, the following resolutions were passed:—

Resolved, That we recognize the disaster at Rock Springs on the 2d of September, A.D. 1885, as a misfortune to our people, and a stain upon our reputation as a law-abiding people, but we are not insensible to the

cause of that outbreak, and we charge its responsibility upon the Union Pacific Railway Company and its officers.

Resolved, That we firmly believe that Federal bayonets have been ordered to Rock Springs and other places in the Territory, under a misapprehension of the facts. The false representations have been wilfully made by the interested officials of the Union Pacific Railway Company and their paid tools, in order to secure the presence of the army at Evanston and Rock Springs, and to secure its maintenance. That we fully recognize the fact that Federal bayonets are not present at those places to protect either life or property, but are there solely in the interest of a grasping corporation, to force a system of slave-labor upon the Territory, and to force these poor Chinamen into the mines against their will.

Resolved, Therefore, that we, as a people, protest against the use of the army for this unlawful purpose, and demand its withdrawal.

The general tone of the newspaper press of the Territory is fairly illustrated by the following editorial article from "The Laramie Boomerang." "The Cheyenne Sun," introducing it as its own leading article, says: —

"The Boomerang," which is a fearless champion of the people's rights, thus voices public sentiment, and tells a large instalment of truth: —

"It is stated upon reliable authority that the Union Pacific intends to let the Chinese all out, but that the bull-headed managers at Omaha don't wish the fact known until they have proven they can do as they please. It should be distinctly understood that Boss Callaway and his aids in Omaha are determined to show the Western people that they are the rulers, and will trample the Western men under their feet until they have convinced them that they can't help themselves. It is enough to make blood run from a stone to hear of the insolence of these aristocrats. It is a shame to the civilization of the West, that they and their agents can bulldoze the people of a Territory like this. The quicker Adams, Callaway, and the rest of the gang are fired, the better it will be for the country.

The grand jury of Sweetwater County, which has just adjourned, has exhibited great sense in their report; and experience will show that nine-tenths of the people in Wyoming are enlisted in the warfare against the monopoly, which has downed this Territory, and now tries to imprison its citizens for crimes which are directly chargeable to its officials.

The Union Pacific is responsible for the backward state of affairs in Western Wyoming. Rock Springs, with its grand coal-mines, should be a city of six to ten thousand inhabitants: it is a miserable Chinatown of twelve hundred population. Carbon, Green River, and Evanston, all

important points, are dwarfed by the same influence. The Territory itself has been choked nearly to death by this octopus. But its days have been numbered, and the desperate utterances of its officials and agents show that the company sees the dawn of the day of doom at hand.

These utterances and appeals, though unsuccessful in their main object, — to initiate a strike of all the employes of the company, and bring its business to a standstill, — served to keep matters unsettled, and seriously obstruct the efforts to resume work in the mines. The white miners at Rock Springs for the most part rejected the offer of the company made on Sept. 19, to furnish transportation free to all lately employed by the company, who should apply therefor by Saturday the 26th, being deluded by such utterances as have been quoted, as well as by the assurances of Mr. Neasham, into the belief that the company would eventually surrender unconditionally.

Meanwhile the number of miners at Rock Springs was increased as rapidly as possible, and cutting-machines were introduced; so that by the 1st of December the number of those at work was 532, of whom 457 were Chinamen and 85 white. According to Superintendent Clark's statement, on the last of August, or about the time of the outbreak, there were 481 miners employed, of whom 331 were Chinese, and 150 white men. Of men employed by the day and month, including carpenters, masons, engineers, pit-bosses, extra men, etc., there were 310, of whom 95 were Chinese employed inside the mines.. The total number of employes was 842, of whom 290 were white men and 552 Chinese. The output of the mines at Rock Springs on the 30th of August was 1,450 tons; on the 30th of November it was 1,610 tons.

On the 1st of October the miners at Carbon, where no Chinese were employed, went out on a strike, after sending to the mining superintendent at that place the following communication: —

CARBON, Oct. 1, 1885.

MR. MEYERS, Superintendent Union Pacific Coal Department, Carbon.

At a meeting of the Progress Assembly, the following resolutions were passed: That the workingmen of Carbon do not go to work until

every Chinaman along the Union Pacific road is discharged; and, also, that every white man that is not found guilty of any crime against the laws of Wyoming Territory shall be reinstated; also, that the Union Pacific sever all connections with Beckwith, Quinn, & Co.; also, that we demand the discharge of James Tisdel.

JOHN PARKER,
R. WIGGENS,
CHARLES G. SMITH,
Committee of Arbitration Board.

CARBON, WYO., Oct. 1, 1885.

L. MEYERS, Superintendent.

Dear Sir, — At a meeting held by the workmen of No. 5 mine, we demand that the Chinese must go from the employment of the company, and J. M. Tisdel and W. R. Gardner; and all white men that there are no charge of misdemeanor against get their work back again.

SIGNED BY WORKMEN OF No. 5 MINE.

The mines at Carbon were accordingly closed.

"The Evanston Chieftain," a very decided sympathizer with the anti-Chinese movement, characterized the Carbon strike as "A Suicidal Move," under which head it spoke as follows: —

It is extremely discouraging to men who are making an honest effort in behalf of the white miners, to have that same class kick the whole pot over, and spill the contents in the fire, just as the coveted dish is ready to serve. This is just about the condition of affairs as we go to press this morning. On Thursday morning the Union Pacific opened up mine No. 4 at Almy, with all white miners. Yesterday morning Newell Beeman, Esq., superintendent of the Central Pacific mines here, opened up No. 2, and set a full force of white miners to work. Every thing appearing to be working lovely, and all classes were elated by a prospect of getting rid of John Chinaman. In the next moment we get news that all the white miners at Carbon, about four hundred white men, in a camp where no Chinamen have ever been employed, are out on a strike. They have, we are told, laid down their tools and walked out in a body, refusing to work, and refusing to give any reason for their act. It is thought that they are acting from some order of the Miners' Union in Colorado, in which State there is also a strike. This course of the Carbon miners, just at this critical moment, is suicidal in the extreme. It places the strongest kind of a weapon in the hands of the railway company, and will go far in the eyes of the whole country to prove that white miners cannot be depended upon when the company is under heavy

bonds to fill large contracts of coal. It appears to us that the Carbon strike is the work of the Devil in the interests of the Chinamen. Now, let any sane man tell us what is the railway company to do, except one of three things?—either yield all their business rights to the Colorado miners; or abandon their mines, and forfeit all their bonds on contracts, and become bankrupt; or hire John Chinaman. By the action of Carbon, they are forced into this position, and the intelligent people of the whole civilized world will so view the situation.

About the same time the following communication was received from the mines at Louisville, Col.:—

LOUISVILLE, COL., Oct. 2, 1885.

To L. J. WELCH, ESQ.

The following is a list of grievances which the Louisville miners desire to have presented to the Union Coal Company:—

First, That we want "entry" price for the "turning" of "rooms," and "driving" of "crosscuts."

Second, That we want pay for all screened coal put upon mine cars by miners, no more twenty-one hundred restriction; but we will allow the company the right to put up gauges for the protection of their cars.

Third, That the company must place all necessary timbers in or at the working faces, not places of the mine, or pay miners the sum of one dollar per lineal yard extra for the placing of timber in or at said places.

Fourth, That we demand the discharge of the "white Chinamen" of this mine, a list of whom will be given the company when they request a settlement.

Fifth, That no local settlement will be made, but that we demand a general settlement of "Rock Springs" grievances as well as that of Louisville.

Sixth, That all grievances now existing, or that may hereafter arise, be settled by the "Conciliation Board;" the decisions of which will be binding upon miners and company alike.

(Signed) LOUISVILLE MINERS.

The Louisville mines were closed accordingly.

The striking miners at those two points were encouraged in the position they had taken, by reports that they would be supported by the Miners' Union throughout the country. The following from "The Cheyenne Sun," of Oct. 11, indicates the information by which they were deceived.

Private despatches of a reliable character were received in Cheyenne last evening, stating that the coal miners in Iowa and Missouri, employed

in mines from which coal has been of late furnished to the Union Pacific, have refused to continue work if the product is to be sold or disposed of in any way to the latter company.

This act is in obedience to instructions from the executive committee of the National Miners' Union. The National Union has, contemporary to the above instructions, sent circulars to the officers of every coal company in the United States, requesting that no coal be furnished to the Union Pacific Railway Company.

The conclusion of the whole matter may be found in the following letter: —

HEADQUARTERS EXECUTIVE BOARD UNION PACIFIC EMPLOYES,
DENVER, COL., Nov. 12, 1885.

S. R. CALLAWAY, General Manager Union Pacific Railway, Omaha.

Dear Sir, — Yours of the 10th, asking us to send in writing any suggestions we wish to make in regard to the miners, is at hand. In answer we wish to call your attention to the following: —

We only come to you at this time at the earnest request of the miners who went out on strike Oct. 1.

We wish first to state that these miners went out contrary to our wish and advice; and we endeavored to show their representatives wherein we believed this would be a mistake, and how we believed a satisfactory understanding could be reached with the company, without action of this kind. Now they see their mistake, and are willing to return to work under the same conditions as when they came out.

Now, we do not believe these men are as much to blame as some may believe. The excitement that was occasioned by the massacre of the Chinese at Rock Springs caused all of this trouble. We do not believe the men at Carbon and Louisville really understood the circumstances connected with the trouble at Rock Springs; hence we think the company should take this into consideration, and allow the miners to return to work.

We learned to-night that this was offered to the miners at Carbon, and that they will return to work to-morrow. We would earnestly ask that an opportunity be given at once to the men at Louisville to return to work. Further, we would call your attention to the condition of some of the miners at Almy. These men did not come out on strike, and have showed no disposition to fight the company, having acted as men should; yet they are not allowed to work, nor can they go to work for the Central Pacific Company, because the Union Pacific superintendent will not give them the required permit. We believe this to be unjust under the circumstances.

In regard to the Rock Springs men, we would ask you, in their behalf,

to consider the circumstances connected with the trouble there, and allow such men as remain there to resume work under the same conditions as we ask for the others; thus have regular work resumed in all mines on the system, which we believe is the wish of all employes and citizens throughout the West.

In behalf of the miners,

We are respectfully,

(Signed), J. N. CORBIN,

Secretary Executive Board Union Pacific Employes.

Meanwhile, a form of petition was extensively circulated, and very generally signed, throughout the region traversed by the Union Pacific and its auxiliary lines. It read as follows: —

A PLEA FOR FREE LABOR.

PETITION.

To the President and Board of Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad.

Gentlemen, — We, the undersigned employes of the Union Pacific Railroad, located at Denver, Col., do petition your honorable board to remove from your employ all Chinese labor. If it is the right aspiration for every citizen to be independent and free, — that is, not subject to arbitrary power, but dependent only upon just laws, — the same must inevitably appear right to him in his capacity as workman. This cannot harmonize with slave-labor, as it is practised in connection with the Chinese in your employ. Therefore we pray your honorable board to take immediate steps to remove the same from our midst.

The above document, bearing the signatures of many thousand persons dwelling between the Missouri River and Salt Lake, reached the Boston offices of the company on the 27th of November. The following reply to it was in due time returned. Those to whom it was addressed did not make the reply public.

Union Pacific Railway Company, Equitable Building,
Boston, Mass., Dec. 16, 1885.

J. N. Corbin, Esq., and others, Denver, Col.

Gentlemen, — Referring to your letter of Nov. 21, forwarding a numerously signed petition, and my own acknowledgment thereof of Nov. 27, I have to inform you that the documents were laid before the Board of Directors of this company at a regular meeting held to-day.

The directors, I am instructed to say, consider that a petition so generally signed by its employes, and others dwelling upon the line of the Union Pacific, should receive from them the most careful and respectful consideration. They fully sympathize in the aspirations referred to in the heading of the present document, that "every citizen should be independent and free; not subject to arbitrary power." But the petition further adds that these things "cannot harmonize with slave-labor as it is practised in connection with the Chinese in your [the company's] employ;" and, for the reason thus specified, asks that immediate steps be taken "to remove the same from our [your] midst."

It is apparent from the words above quoted that those signing the petition have done so under a misapprehension as to facts. The term "slave-labor" can in no respect be more correctly applied to the relations between this company and its Chinese employes, than to the relations between this company and those of its employes who are Americans or any other nationality. All are paid the same way. All are equally free to leave the service of the company; and if they leave the service of the company, it is equally impossible for the company to reclaim them, or exact enforced labor from them. Among the twenty thousand Union Pacific employes are between three hundred and four hundred Asiatics. The number fluctuates somewhat, but has not been increased recently. The Chinese, like all other employes of the company, — American, European, or African, — work under contracts voluntarily entered into, and which can be terminated by them or by the company at any time.

These facts, which it is evident from the wording of the petition the signers therof were not aware of, would seem to remove the alleged cause of complaint; thus rendering further action unnecessary. The Union Pacific Railway Company is a corporation chartered by the National Government. As such, its directors do not feel that it is within their province to discriminate against persons of any nationality, color, or sect. The only question its directors and officers have a right to ask is, whether the company's employes are competent, faithful, economical, and qualified to perform the duties for which they contract, and are paid. I remain,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) CHARLES F. ADAMS, JUN.,
President.

To briefly sum up: In the outbreak of Sept. 2, twenty-two men were killed, and their bodies recovered; twenty-six more have since been missing. They doubtless died in the hills from wounds and exposure. A considerable amount of property was burned. No one has been punished.

The company was subjected to prolonged suspension of its mining operations, to an extension of the trouble to other points, and to a general disturbance of its business by a threatened strike all along the line and in all its departments. Measured in money, the injury thus done was very considerable, seriously affecting the year's results.

The position taken by the company at the outset, and adhered to throughout, was that under no circumstances could it enter into any negotiation with the men who had been guilty of these crimes, or with any one in their behalf.

Authors
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